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JOURNAL OF THE SIAM SOCIETY



JANUARY 1980
volume 68 part 1

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1978

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January 1980

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FUNERARY RITES AND THE BUDDHIST MEANING OF DEATH:
AN INTERPRETATIVE TEXT FROM
NORTHERN THAILAND

by

PHRA KHRŪ ANUSARANAŚĀSANAKIARTI

and

CHARLES F. KEYES*

Introduction †

The fact of death poses a fundamental problem of meaning — what in Buddhism is called *amata-pañhā* — for all humans in that there is an irreparable loss when a once-living person becomes a dead carcass. This brute fact of actual experience is taken as a central concern in all religions. Each religion, albeit in manifold different ways, asserts that there is a significance in death which transcends the sense of desolation caused by the cessation of a human life. For those who are bereaved, or who have become acutely aware of their own ultimate fate, religious assertion of ultimate meaning cannot simply be a set of abstract statements. Instead, religious interpretations of death must needs be interwoven into the fabric of human action, and most particularly into those phases of action which center on the actuality of death. For most human beings, in the past as well as in present-day societies, the articulation of religious meaning about death and the social actions which accompany death take the form of ritual.

Theravāda Buddhist interpretation of death, derived from scriptural sources, has been imposed upon diverse ritual forms found in the communities of Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. More specifically, members of the Sangha — that is, monks who belong to the Buddhist fraternity — have utilized their knowledge of texts containing, or assumed to contain, parts of the dharma, the teachings of the Lord Buddha, to give meaning to the gestures, objects, icons and words which constitute death rituals. Indeed, they play this role for all rituals in which the actual experiences of people are invested with religious significance. For the most part, the interpretations of monks have been, in the past as well as today, presented to the populace in the form of expositions of dharma — sermons (Pāli: *desanā*; Thai: *thētsanā*, เทศนา) — delivered orally in the context of ritual action. A sermon most usually is a recitation of a traditional text; but it might also be an extemporaneous instruction

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† By Charles F. Keyes.

concerning the deeper dharmic meanings of aspects of the human condition. Relatively rarely, although increasingly more common, a monk has put his religious exegesis of ritual into writing, thereby making it available for others to read or to use as a sermon. Whatever the form might be, it has been the responsibility of monks from the earliest days of Buddhism to provide others with religious — that is, dharmic — meanings for the elements of the rituals which punctuate the process of human life.

This responsibility has led many monks to attend to the form as well as to the content of rituals. Indeed, in any Buddhist community it is always the monk (or ex-monk) who has spent many years in the Order who is the most knowledgeable regarding the traditional as well as the essential (as prescribed by scriptural authority) elements of ritual. Again, this knowledge has been communicated to others mainly by word of mouth; however, a few monks have composed written guides to the procedure of the rituals performed within their communities.

The text which I have translated here combines both an account of ritual procedure — in this case, of the forms of rituals connected with death as they are carried out in the community of Mae Sariang in northern Thailand — with a dharmic interpretation of this procedure. This text is unusual in that it was not composed for the benefit of practising Buddhists in Mae Sariang, but for the purpose of providing a foreign ethnographer — myself — with some depth of understanding of death rituals which I had observed while engaged in research in Mae Sariang.

I spent nearly 18 months in Mae Sariang during 1967-1968, engaged in a study of the religious life of northern Thai Buddhists living in Mae Sariang town as well as other aspects of culture and society in Mae Sariang District.¹ I was extraordinarily fortunate in my work on Buddhist practice to gain not only the approval of Phra Khrū Anusaraṇaśāsanakiarti, the district ecclesiastical head of Mae Sariang District, but also his active involvement in my undertaking. To this day he maintains an abiding interest in the culture of his native place, and pursues this interest with intellectual inquisitiveness. On many occasions, I discovered that my naive queries as to the nature of some practice served to stimulate him to provide me with a detailed and systematic account. Towards the end of my stay in Mae Sariang, he prepared, at my behest, a set of detailed notes on many of the ritual practices which I had observed. The record of customs associated with death which is presented here was originally written on 2 November 1968.

In the intervening decade, I have not had the time to return to this text, being concerned with other work growing out of my research in Mae Sariang, as well as other research in northeastern Thailand and in Chiang Mai. Only within the past year have I begun to focus once more on the rituals which I observed in Mae Sariang.² Specifically, I have devoted my attention primarily to those rituals connected with ordination into the Buddhist monkhood

1. My research was carried out with support from the National Science Foundation and the University of Washington.

2. I am grateful for support, which has made my new work possible, granted by the Graduate School Research Fund of the University of Washington and the Social Science Research Council. I am also indebted to the University of Washington for giving me time during a sabbatical leave to carry out this work.

and with death because I believe that these two types of rituals are central to an understanding of how Buddhist meanings are established in the lives of ordinary people in northern Thailand (and elsewhere in Buddhist south and southeast Asia, for that matter). In the context of my work on death rituals, I have turned once again to the account which Phra Khrū Anusaraṇaśāsanakiarti prepared for me.

As I reread his account of death rituals, I was struck by the fact that it was one of the most detailed records of any concerning northern Thailand known to me of ritual procedure connected with death. I also became aware, a function of being involved in the translation of a traditional sermon connected with death rites — *ānisonṅ sīa sop* (อานิสองส์เสียดศพ: “The Blessings of Disposing of Corpses”³), that Phra Khrū Anusaraṇaśāsanakiarti had included a religious interpretation of funerary rituals which was very similar to the Buddhist meaning given to such rituals in a text which has quasi-doctrinal standing. Given these characteristics of Phra Khrū Anusaraṇaśāsanakiarti’s account, I felt that it would be of considerable value to translate it and to make it available to a wider audience.

I am aware of two other accounts of death rituals in northern Thailand which are similar in organization and content to that written by Phra Khrū Anusaraṇaśāsanakiarti in that they also include both details of ritual form and dharmic exegesis on these forms. One of these is included in a book on northern Thai customs by Sangūan Chōtisukkkharat, an author noted for his compilations of northern Thai customs, folklore and history.⁴ The other, written by Krai Krainiran, appeared in the Chiang Mai newspaper, *Khonmuang*, and has been translated and published in a northern Thai ethnographic work by Konrad Kingshill.⁵ A comparison of these two accounts with that of the Phra Khrū permits one (as I have done in my annotations) to identify additional details of ritual procedure and additional religious reflections upon death rites as they are carried out in northern Thailand. The differences between the texts reflect, to some degree, variations in practice in different parts of northern Thailand. In Mae Sariang, for example, Burmese (and Shan) influences are more pronounced than they are in other parts of the north (in this regard, see the following discussion of funerary rites for monks). In addition, each author has accorded somewhat different attention to ritual elements

3. This translation, together with annotations and an introduction, will appear in a forthcoming volume, *The Blessings of Religious Acts: Ritual Texts from Northern Thailand*, translated by Charles F. Keyes and Sommai Premchit; edited and introduced by Charles F. Keyes.

4. Sangūan Chōtisukkkharat (สงวน โชติสุขรัตน์), *praphēni thai phāk nūa* (ประเพณีไทยภาคเหนือ: “Customs of the Thai of the northern region”), pp. 217-250.

5. Krai Krainiran (ไกร ไกรนรินทร์), “rūṅang tung lek tung tōng” (เรื่องตุงเหล็กตุงทอง: “Concerning the iron and golden banners”). I have not seen the original version of this account, but only an English translation by Amnuay Tapingkae, which is included in Konrad Kingshill’s *Kudaeng—the Red Tomb: a Village Study in Northern Thailand*, pp. 159-164. Another account of funerary rites by Phairot Loetphiriyakamon (ไพโรธ เลิศพิริยกุลม), *khati chāo bān* (คตชีชาวบ้าน: “Village folklore”), pp. 165-167, adds little that is not found in other accounts. Yet another record of funerary rites by Singkha Wannasai (สิงฆะ วรณสัย), “praphēni lānāthai” (ประเพณีลานนาไทย: “Lānāthai customs”), pp. 86-97, came to hand too late to be used in preparing this study.

and meanings. Yet, while there are variations among the texts, what is striking is that there is so much overlap, particularly in the matter of religious meaning, which is fundamentally the same in all three accounts.

In addition to comparing Phra Khrū Anusaraṇaśāsana-kiarti's text to other similar accounts, I have also examined it in light of descriptions of death rites based on actual observations. I have drawn particularly on the ethnographic description of such rites in the village of Kū Dāēng (ทุ่ง), located near Chiang Mai, written by Konrad Kingshill and based on his research in the early 1950s.⁶ In an earlier ethnographic account, Reginald LeMay⁷ provided some general information about death rituals in northern Thailand based on his observations during a period following World War I. While LeMay's notes are not so focused as are those of Kingshill, they do hold some historical interest. Finally, I have drawn upon my own field notes, recorded during my research in Mae Sariang. While I did not observe those elements of death rituals which occurred prior to the procession to the cemetery for cremation, I did attend two cremations and another set of rites at which the remains of a cremated corpse were collected. In addition, I also observed much of the ritual activity surrounding the funeral of a monk in Mae Sariang in 1973; I have already published a study of this ritual.⁸ In addition to funerary rituals proper, I also had the opportunity to attend a number of rituals in Mae Sariang at which merit was made and dedicated to the deceased. I plan future studies based upon these materials. The observational information collected by myself and other ethnographers in northern Thailand permits one to ascertain in some particulars the extent to which the ritual procedure outlined by Phra Khrū Anusaraṇaśāsana-kiarti (and the others) has been realized in actuality.

My efforts to place the Phra Khrū's text in a larger ethnographic context have also been enhanced by my having access to a study of ritual life in a village in Nan Province written by Richard Davis.⁹ While Davis does not deal directly with death rituals, being concerned in his study with agrarian rites, he does provide many general insights into northern Thai ritual activity.

In the following pages I have given the Phra Khrū's account of death customs in Mae Sariang as the text and have placed my own observations made in Mae Sariang, information from other sources, and my comments in the footnotes. The somewhat unwieldy product does serve to preserve the integrity of the Phra Khrū's record. Together, text and notes make it possible to juxtapose guides for ritual procedure with descriptions of actual ritual behavior connected with death and both of these with religious exegesis regarding the significance of death customs.

6. Kingshill, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-178.

7. Reginald LeMay, *An Asian Arcady: the Land and Peoples of Northern Siam*.

8. Charles F. Keyes, "Tug-of-war for merit: cremation of a senior monk".

9. Richard Davis, "Muang metaphysics: a study in northern Thai myth and ritual", unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Sydney, 1974.

Death customs in Mae Sariang, northern Thailand ‡

1. (Types of) death

Death is of several types:

(a) Ordinary death (*tāi thammadā*, ตายธรรมดา¹⁰), that is death (caused) by diseases of various sorts.

(b) Sudden death (*tāi hōng*, ตายโหง¹¹), that is death caused by different kinds of accidents such as murder, falling from a vehicle, or drowning.

(c) Death (called in Northern Thai) *tāi kom tāi pāi* (ต๋ายก๋มต๋ายพราย), that is death in childbirth (*khlōt but*, คลอดบุตร), A woman who dies in childbirth because the child has died in the womb is said to *tāi kom* (ต๋ายก๋ม).¹² If she dies after the child has been born, even if the child lives, this (type of death) is called *tāi pāi* (ต๋ายพราย).¹³

(d) Death (called in Northern Thai) *tāi thūk tū* (ต๋ายตุ๊กตู่). The word *tū* (in Northern Thai) means sorcery (*khun sai*, คุณไสย)¹⁴ in central (Thailand). (This practice entails) the use of spells (*khāthā ākhom*, คาถาอาคม) (which are) pronounced (*sēk*, เสก) and blown on (*pao*, เป่า) cow or buffalo hide or whatever and sent to enter the stomach of the person who is intended to die. The person who has been bewitched will show the symptoms of a swollen and distended stomach or of swelling throughout the body. In three or four days, (the person's) condition worsens and he becomes feverish. These symptoms cannot be cured by medicine; spells must be used to effect a cure. Sometimes (the illness) is dissipated (by the use of spells);

‡ By Phra Khrū Anusarāṣāsanakiarti; translated and with notes by Charles F. Keyes.

10. In this translation, transliterations of standard Thai and of Northern Thai words include indication of vowel length but not of tone. For the system of transliteration used for Northern Thai words, see *The Blessings of Religious Acts* (footnote 3).

11. McFarland's *Thai-English Dictionary*, p. 949, translates *hōng* as "a ghost; the devil; demons; plague-bringers" and *tāi hōng* as "to die from some fearful disease". I have chosen to translate this type of death as "sudden death" because of the gloss given to the cognate Northeastern Thai term, *tāi hūng* (ต๋ายหุง) by the *phocanānukrom phāk isān-phāk klāng* (พจนานุกรมภาคอีสาน-ภาคกลาง), p. 458: "... *tāi dōi paccuban than dūan*" (ต๋ายโดยปัจจุบันทันด่วน).

12. The Northern Thai *kom* (ก๋ม) is related to the standard Thai word *klom* (กลม), meaning "globular" or "spherical" (see Sangūan, *op. cit.*, p. 239).

13. In standard Thai (McFarland, *op. cit.*, p. 568), *phrāi* (พราย), cognate with Northern Thai *pāi*, means an evil spirit. Here the usage implies dying in a polluted state.

14. In the anthropological literature on Africa, a sharp distinction is made between witchcraft and sorcery (see E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azandi*). In northern Thailand, as in other parts of Buddhist southeast Asia (cf. Melford E. Spiro, *Burmese Supernaturalism*, p. 22), no such distinction can be made and witchcraft and sorcery practices are classed under the same rubric. I found that ideas about sorcery and witchcraft were more elaborate in northern Thailand than in northeastern Thailand where I have also carried out fieldwork (cf. in this connection, S.J. Tambiah, *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand*, pp. 331-333).

sometimes (the person) dies. It is known that seers (*mō dū*, หมอดู),¹⁵ magicians (*mō sai*, หมอไสย),¹⁶ or mediums (*caonāi*, เจ้านาย) or possessed persons (*khon song cao*, คนทรงเจ้า)¹⁷ are the source of sorcery. When an ill person dies (from sorcery), at the time of the cremation some organ, such as the liver or heart, does not burn or sometimes cow or buffalo hide is found in the stomach of the person who has died from an illness. Those who have knowledge of sorcery are mainly Karen or Khmu.¹⁸ In addition to humans (who perform) sorcery, there are also spirits (*phī*, ผี) who (perform) or cause sorcery. The type of spirits which are likely to cause this are the *yakṣa* (known in northern Thailand) as *phī ka* (ผีกะ).¹⁹ Today, most of the populace still believes in sorcery.

Persons who die from sorcery or who die a sudden death die before their years (literally, die when their age is not yet complete) and also die bad deaths.²⁰

However (a death may be caused), once a person has died, relatives and neighbors come together to assist in the funeral (*ngān sop*, งานศพ).²¹ (People) do not come to assist at the house of the deceased because of an invitation from a ritual sponsor (*cao phāp*, เจ้าภาพ) as (is the case) at other merit-making events.²² (Once) they know of the death, (people) go on

15. *Mō dū* are practitioners who cast fortunes by consulting astrological tables.

16. *Mō sai* or *mō saiyāsāt* (หมอไสยศาสตร์) have esoteric knowledge gained through study of magical treatises, these being derived originally from India.

17. It is believed that *caonāi* or *khon song cao* (also called, in Northern Thai, *tinang phī*—ตั่งผี้: “spirit’s mount”) are those who become voluntarily possessed by a spirit and are used by spirits to communicate their messages to the living.

18. In Mae Sariang, where Karen constituted over half the population of the District, it was not uncommon for northern Thai to accuse Karen of being more adept at sorcery than they were themselves. The allusion to Khmu here, another tribal people, probably stems from the fact that Khmu formerly came to Mae Sariang to work in the teak trade. The Phra Khrū does not mention the Lua’ (Lawa), the autochthonous tribal people of the area. This probably reflects the belief held by many northern Thai that the Lua’ are very similar in culture to the northern Thai; in contrast, the cultures of the Karen and Khmu are less familiar to the northern Thai. It is not uncommon for people to accuse ethnically distinctive neighbors, particularly if they are economically disadvantaged as well, of being the source of sorcery.

19. A spirit that enters the body and devours the bowels; called *phī pōp* (ผีปอบ) in standard Thai and Northeastern Thai.

20. There is another type of death which the Phra Khrū does not consider because in a sense it is a residual type. Infants and young children who die are given almost no ritual attention. In a sense, northern Thai consider such premature deaths as reflecting a remaining attachment of the child to the spirit world. Carl Bock (in *Temples and Elephants: The Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through Upper Siam and Lao*, p. 261) has recorded northern Thai beliefs about such premature deaths as held in the latter part of the nineteenth century: “People . . . who die under the age of fifteen are believed to have been taken by their former parents who are now in the spirit-world, and are buried instead of being cremated, the bodies being simply wrapped up in mats, and interred without the privilege of a coffin. If the young person or child dies with its jacket on, the garment is slit at the sides, and the front turned to the back, a way of saying to the spirit of the dead child, ‘don’t come back again’.”

21. *Ngān* (งาน) signifies the totality of ritualized activities and associated non-ritual acts connected with a particular occasion. *Sop* (ศพ) refers to the physical remains, the body. In Northern Thai, the terms *sāk* (ซาก), *kāp* (คาบ), and *kāp nao* (คาบเน่า) (*nao* means “decaying”) are also used to refer to the body (cf. Sangūan, *op. cit.*, p. 217).

22. Sangūan (*ibid.*, pp. 216-217) says that traditionally people would be attracted by the loud wailing from the house of the deceased. The same practice is also noted by Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 160).

their own (initative). (Northern Thai) call this “going to the house of the corpse” (*pai bān sop*, ไปบ้านศพ) or “going to the house of the spirit” (*pai bān phi*, ไปบ้านผี), or “going to the house of the spirit of the dead” (*pai bān phi t̄ai*, ไปบ้านผีตาย).²³

2. Funerary rites²⁴

If a person dies from an (ordinary) illness or from sorcery, the first (thing that is done to the body) is to take the corpse to be bathed in hot (and) then cold water.²⁵ When (the corpse) has been properly dressed,²⁶ the body is taken and placed wherever is convenient in the house (although it is) essential to place the head towards the (main) post of the house (*sao h̄yan*, เสาเขื่อน). A coin is taken and placed in the mouth of the corpse²⁷ and cotton thread is taken to bind the hands and feet of the corpse.²⁸ A pretty flower is placed in the hands of the body.²⁹ A white cloth is placed over the corpse.³⁰ Then the following items are found and placed at the head of the corpse: iron and gold banners (*tung lek tung t̄ōng*, ตุงเหล็ก

23. The term *phi* in this context signifies “soul”, or, perhaps, “ghost”, rather than “spirit” since the final rebirth form has not yet been entered and will not be until after the cremation.

24. *Phithi kiaokap sop* (พิธีเกี่ยวกับศพ), literally, “rites connected with the corpse”.

25. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 233) says that while the bathing custom is still practised in outlying areas in northern Thailand, it is not observed in the cities. In urban areas, he says, people follow the central Thai practice of sprinkling water on the corpse rather than the traditional practice of bathing it with hot and cold water.

26. LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 121) says that:

When a Lao villager dies, his family wash the body with water and clothe it in a ‘pānūng’ [a type of lower garment] and a new coat, which is put on inside out with the buttons facing inwards. The reason for this is that the dead man has become a ‘phi’, or spirit, and spirits always wear their clothes inside out.

I have found only one other reference to this custom of putting the coat of a corpse on backwards and that one (Bock, *op. cit.*, p. 261; see above, footnote 20) refers only to corpses of children under the age of 15. Such a practice has been observed among the Karen living in northern Thailand (James W. Hamilton, “Structure, function, and ideology of a Karen funeral in northern Thailand”, p. 97). Hamilton interprets the Karen custom reflecting a belief in the world of the dead being an inversion of the world of the living (*ibid.*, p. 102).

27. Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 160) says that a chew of betel nut, lime and other ingredients is also placed in the mouth. Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 158) observed honey being poured into the mouth of the corpse of a layman to prevent decay, a practice that the Phra Khrū (below, p. 19) says was done traditionally only for members of the Sangha.

28. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 218) says that thread was bound around the wrists, the ankles, the middle of the body, and the neck. Krai (Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 160) reports that the relatives of the deceased “put a white thread three times around the dead man’s neck, his hand, and his feet”. LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 191) records that “both hands are tied together with white thread”. Kingshill (*op. cit.*, p. 158) observed the hands and the toes of a corpse being tied.

29. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, pp. 217-218) says that flowers, incense and candles, the usual offerings for Buddhist sacra, are placed in the hands. Traditionally, incense was not included in such offerings and LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 121) records that flowers and candles are placed in the hands of a corpse. Kingshill (*op. cit.*, p. 158) observed the use of all three items at a funeral in Kū Dāēng.

30. LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 121) says that “the body is ‘laid out’ on a new mat in the centre of the room, and a string is fastened to either wall, running across the centre of the body at a height of six inches from it. This supports a cloth which covers the body . . .”. Kingshill (*op. cit.*, p. 158) observed a blanket being used instead of a white cloth.

ตุงตอง),³¹ three-tailed banner (*tung sām hāng*, ตุงสามหาง),³² a monk's almsbowl, and a lighted candle of time (*tīan nīān*, เทียนยาน)³³ (on top of a) flower vase. Clothes used by the deceased are placed along the sides of the body.³⁴

It is not common (in northern Thailand) to keep the corpse in the house for long as (is done) in central (Thailand). (At most) it will be kept for only seven days³⁵ in order to await (the arrival) of relatives coming from great distances or in order not to (hold) the funeral on a forbidden day (*wan hām*, วันห้าม) such as Wednesday or Tuesday. Cremations are especially forbidden on Tuesdays. (Also forbidden) are the ninth days of the waxing or waning of the moon and the days of the nine piles (*wan kao kōng*, วันเก้ากอง).³⁶ Such days have been forbidden for funerals since ancient times.

During the time when the body is still in the house, religious rites are held in the evening. Four monks are invited to chant *sī nīā* (สี่ยา) and to give sermons. Chanting *sī nīā* is similar to the chanting of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* as is done in central (Thailand).³⁷ The sponsor who provides the food invites monks to come and partake of the morning meal, (this being) called "partaking of food in front of the corpse" (*san nā sop*, จันทน์ศพ).

31. This item is an inevitable accompaniment to any rite connected with the dead (see Kingshill, *ibid.*, pp. 159, 160). For significance see below, footnote 105.

32. Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 158) records the name of this item as *thong sām hāng* (ธงสามหาง), *thong* being the standard Thai word for "banner, flag", cognate with Northern Thai *tung*. Kingshill says that the color of this banner is white. For significance of the item, see below.

33. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 219) mentions a *fai nīān* (ไฟยาน) which has the same function as the *tīan nīān*. It is apparent that what is significant in this item is that the light can be continuous for the period of time that the body is kept in the house. Any implement which can be made to serve this purpose will do; indeed, Kingshill (*op. cit.*, p. 158) observed at the funeral he attended that a kerosene lantern was used. LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 121) says that the light is placed just above the head.

34. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 218) says that the corpse is placed on a litter of bamboo slats, called *hāng lōi* (ห้างลอย) in Northern Thai. He also reports (*ibid.*, p. 217) that the face of the corpse is adorned with white powder, a practice that Kingshill (*op. cit.*, p. 158) actually observed. Krai (Kingshill, *ibid.*, p. 161) says that a vase with candles is placed at the foot of the body while LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 191) reports that "a waxen boat is also placed in the dead man's hands".

35. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 222) says that a corpse of an ordinary lay person who died a natural death will be kept for three to seven days. LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 122) says that the shortest time is two to three days, while "in the villages the average interval is at the most a few weeks". This latter period does not appear to accord with other evidence from northern Thailand. In the funeral of an older, respected villager which Kingshill (*op. cit.*, p. 165) attended, the time between death and cremation was four days. In Mae Sariang, none of the funerals of ordinary lay persons which I attended took place more than a few days after death. As will be noted below, corpses of monks and high-status persons are kept much longer.

36. The northern Thai mode of calculating, with reference to astrological influences, the days appropriate or inappropriate for undertaking many activities is most complex (see Davis, *loc. cit.*, chapter 3 and Davis, "The northern Thai calendar and its uses"). Davis ("Muang metaphysics . . .", *loc. cit.*, p. 120) reports that the "exquisitely complicated formula, called 'The Days of Nine Piles' . . . takes into account the lunar month, the twelve-day cycle, and an additional duodenary sequence which is used only in this formula". See Sangūan (*op. cit.*, pp. 223-226) for a telling of the myth associated with this formula.

37. According to Kenneth E. Wells (*Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Activities*, p. 225) this text is a commentary on the Abhidhamma and is considered to be equal in sanctity to the scriptural source itself. See Wells (*ibid.*, p. 226) for a summary of the contents of this chant.

In Mae Sariang, no one makes coffins (called *lōng*, หล็อง,³⁸ in Northern Thai) for sale. The sponsor looks for wood and has a carpenter (called *salā*, สล้า, in Northern Thai) come to help in making one without fixing a charge for the labor. The coffin will be good or poor in the end, depending on the degree of wealth³⁹ of the sponsor.⁴⁰ When the coffin has been prepared, relatives will come to place the corpse in it.⁴¹ There is no ritual bathing (at this time) of the corpse as (there is) in central (Thailand). Before placing the corpse in the coffin, the sponsor invites four monks to chant. This is called “chanting (while the body) enters the coffin” (*sūt khao lōng*, สูตรเข้าหล็อง).⁴²

3. Day of the disposing of the corpse (*sīa sop*, เสียศพ)⁴³

On whatever day has been scheduled for the disposing of the corpse, the sponsor⁴⁴ will make merit in accordance with the religion in order to dedicate (*uthit*, อุทิศ) a portion of merit (*sūan bun kuson*, ส่วนบุญกุศล)⁴⁵ to the deceased. (This merit) serves to augment the

38. Compare standard Thai *tōng* (โถง).

39. Literally, “strength of wealth”.

40. See Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 218) for a discussion of the role of the carpenter at a funeral. Kingshill (*op. cit.*, p. 158) says that at one funeral which he attended, the deceased before his death had arranged with a local carpenter to make a coffin to his design; the coffin was actually made after the death occurred. In the village in northeastern Thailand where I carried out research, I saw one case where a coffin was made in anticipation of a death.

41. Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 158) reports that at the funeral he attended, the corpse was kept for a day before the coffin was completed. LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 122) says that “the body remains alone for one night, but the next day the coffin is made”.

42. LeMay (*ibid.*) reports a comparable custom: “in the afternoon four priests are called to offer up prayers for the dead. As soon as this rite has been performed, the body is placed in the coffin, which is nailed down”. A number of other customs are mentioned by other sources as taking place between death and cremation. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 219) and Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 160) report that a sack of rice—called *tung hō khao* (ตุงห่อข้าว) in Northern Thai—is placed above the head of the body. Below the Phra Khrū indicates that the three-tailed banner is sewn into such a bag. Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 158) reports having seen both a three-tailed banner and a sack of rice above the head of a corpse. Krai (in *ibid.*, p. 160) says that in addition to the three-tailed banner and the sack of rice, “they put . . . a ring with a real diamond, a coconut for cleansing the corpse just before cremation, dishes of food, threads, white cloth, and other goods in the coffin”. Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 158) reports having heard of the custom of placing a dead cat in the coffin with the corpse, but this custom is not reported in any other source. Juxtaposed with the sermons and chanting of the monks—which go on every evening and, according to Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 219), are listened to only by elders—are games, poetry reading, and courting engaged in by young people (*ibid.*, pp. 219-222). The events of the first night after a death (at least of the death of a person who died from ‘natural causes’) and for each subsequent night until the eve of the cremation constitute a wake in a truly Irish sense. I attended such wakes both in Mae Sariang in the village in northeastern Thailand where I carried out field research. The overt purpose of such wakes, I was told, including very much the seemingly irreverent behavior of the young people, is to dispel the sorrow of the bereaved. For a description of a wake in a northern Thai village, see Kingshill (*op. cit.*, pp. 165-167).

43. The term *sīa* (เสีย) literally means “to lose (beyond memory)”. A colloquial standard Thai phrase used in telling of someone’s death is *sīa pai lāeo* (เสียไปแล้ว). The significance of the word is to dispose forever of the bodily remains of a person.

44. The sponsor would be a close relative of the deceased—a parent, spouse, or child in most cases.

45. The term “portion of merit” (*sūan bun kuson*, ส่วนบุญกุศล) is a standard expression indicating that merit is something that can be accumulated in parts.

merit for the soul (*dūang winyān*, ดวงวิญญาน)⁴⁶ of the deceased.⁴⁷ (This merit-making) is done by inviting bhikkhus and samaṇeras to come and receive alms-offerings at the house of the deceased. Traditionally, it was common to offer alms at the *wat*. It does not matter whether the number of monks and novices invited is odd or even.⁴⁸ The offering of alms before taking the corpse to the cemetery (*pā chā*, ป่าช้า)⁴⁹ is called *tān khyang* (ตานเคื่อง, in Northern Thai), meaning the offering of alms-goods (*khryang thaiyathān*, เคื่องไทยทาน). The rite is similar to the usual merit-making of alms-offering. This is to say (the rite includes) the taking of the five precepts (by those who make the offering), chanting (Northern Thai: *wēntān*, เว้นทาน) of the offering by an *ācān* (อาจารย์),⁵⁰ chanting of the *Karaniya-metta Sutta*⁵¹ by the clergy, and then the (actual) offering of the alms (by the sponsors) and the thankful rejoicing (*anumōthanā*, อนุโมทนา; Pāli: *anumodanā*) by the Sangha. Ordinarily a dharmic sermon will be given before the offering of alms-goods. One or two local texts⁵² will be used for the sermons⁵³ in accord with whatever the sponsor has arranged. If there is a son

46. The term *winyān* (pronounced *wīnān* in Northern Thai) is derived from the Pāli term *viññāṇa*, meaning “consciousness”. In orthodox Theravādin doctrine, it is the consciousness which links one life to the next. The modifier *dūang* (ดวง) suggests that the *winyān* is conceptualized as a form round or globular in shape. Together these two terms point to a substantial essence that becomes disconnected from the corpse at death; thus, I have chosen to translate the Thai terms by the word “soul”. This translation should not be taken as indicating that the Northern Thai do not believe in the Buddhist doctrine of *anattā*, “soullessness”, since the *dūang winyān* is not a permanent essence. I plan to devote a separate paper to this subject.

47. Merit made by others and transferred to the dead is an essential belief of all northern Thai (indeed all Thai) rites connected with the dead. See my paper, “The blessings of ordination: conceptions of merit-transference in a popular text from northern Thailand”, forthcoming. The idea of merit-transference to the dead is an old one in Buddhism and has been a part of Buddhist practice since early times. See Richard F. Gombrich, “‘Merit transference’ in Sinhalese Buddhism: a case study of the interaction between doctrine and practice”, pp. 203-219.

48. The Phra Khrū here is responding to a query I had posed as to whether auspicious and inauspicious rites were associated inevitably with even or odd numbers of Sangha participants.

49. Pronounced *pā cā* in Northern Thai. According to Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 222), the cemetery is also called *pā hīao* (ป่าเขียว). The cemetery is a place set aside for funerary rites. In rural areas, the territory surrounding a cemetery is wooded, in fact, and no one cuts the trees in the area for fear of offending spirits which live there. In Mae Sariang (as in Chiang Mai), the cemetery is an open field dedicated to the sole function of being the locus of cremations.

50. In northern Thailand, lay ritual specialists—inevitably ex-monks—called *ācān*, lit., “teacher”, lead whatever lay group congregates for making a ritual offering to the Sangha. On the role of the *ācān*, see Donald K. Swearer, “The role of the layman *extraordinaire* in northern Thai Buddhism”.

51. For a translation of this sutra, see *The Pali Chanting Scripture with Thai and English Translation*, pp. 84-89. This same translation is reprinted in Tambiah (*op. cit.*, pp. 215-216). The title of the sutra means “loving-kindness to be done” and it enjoins one to engage in moral acts and to avoid immoral ones.

52. That is, texts used traditionally in northern Thailand.

53. Such a sermon might well be the *ānisonṅ sīa sop* (อาณิสงส์เสี่ยศพ), “The Blessings of Disposing of Corpses” (see *The Blessings of Religious Acts* for both text and translation) or, what might in fact be the same text, known in Northern Thai as *ānisonṅ lāng kāp* (อาณิสงส์ล้างคาบ), “The Blessings of Washing the Corpse” (see Sangūan, *op. cit.*, pp. 232ff.). This latter text is also called in Pāli *dhamma amata pañhā*, “The Dharma of Eternal Questions” (Sangūan, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Krai, in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 160). Other possible texts include those known in Northern Thai as *ānisonṅ kon tāi* (อาณิสงส์คนตาย), “The Blessings of (Acts for) the Dead”; *ānisonṅ phī tāi* (อาณิสงส์ผีตาย), “The Blessings of (Acts for) the Spirit of the Dead”; *ānisonṅ sop* (อาณิสงส์ศพ), “The Blessings of (Acts for) the Corpse”; *ānisonṅ tān hā kon tāi* (อาณิสงส์ทานหาคนตาย), “The Blessings of Alms-offering (Whose Merit) Find the Dead”; *ānisonṅ lūk cāi tān hā pū* (or *māe*); (อาณิสงส์ลูกชายทานหาพ่อ[แม่]), “The Blessings of a Son Offering Alms (Whose Merit) Find His Father (or Mother)”.

or grandson (of the deceased) with (the necessary) faith, he will be ordained (in order) to dedicate merit to the deceased. Such ordinations take place before the sermon. (This type of) ordination is called "ordination in front of the corpse" (*būat nā sop*, บวชน้ำศพ).⁵⁴ (The relative who is ordained will remain in the clergy) temporarily, the duration not exceeding three days.⁵⁵

If the deceased was an elder full in years, there will be (chanting) of a sutra of detachment (*sūt thōn*, สุตตรถอน) after the offering of the alms-goods has finished and before the corpse is taken down from the house. The sponsor will (first) prepare four ritual trays, (called) *satūang* (ตะตวง, in Northern Thai) and place them at four points of the corpse. Then he will invite four monks to chant that which is called "The Detachment Sutra" (*sūt thōn*, สุตตรถอน). (In Northern Thai) *thōn khut thōn cā* (ถอนขี้ตถอนจา) means the sutra of detaching (oneself) from things that are not good, having all depart with the corpse.

When the corpse is lifted down from the house, there are people who take *sompōi* water (น้ำส้มป่อย)⁵⁶ in an earthen pot, prepared by the sponsor, and wash the place where the corpse had lain all the way to the head of the stairs. There the pot is thrown away and broken on the stairs.⁵⁷ There is also another pot with *sompōi* water which is taken and placed at the entrance to the path to the cemetery for those who go to send off (*song*, ส่ง)⁵⁸ the corpse to wash their hands when they return from the cremation.⁵⁹

At the stairway, when the corpse is taken from the house, a substitute bamboo stairway of three steps is leaned against the stairway of the house. This (bamboo stairway) is called (in Northern Thai) "the stairway of the spirits" (*khandai phī*, คันทันใต้ผี).⁶⁰

54. Ordination is thought to produce significant merit which can be transferred to the dead (see Sangūan, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Keyes, "The Blessings of Ordination", *op. cit.*; and *The Blessings of Religious Acts*). Usually it will be a son, a younger brother, or a nephew who will be ordained temporarily at a funeral.

55. At one funeral which I attended in Mae Sariang a number of young boys had been ordained as temporary novices. I was told by informants at the funeral that such novices usually remain in the yellow robes for only a few hours and rarely for more than a day or so.

56. According to McFarland's dictionary (*op. cit.*, p. 815) *sompōi* is a Lao and Northern Thai word for *Acacia concinna* (*Leguminosae*), "a climber, the pods of which are important commercially. In India its pods are sold everywhere in the markets, and are used chiefly for washing the hair, but they are also medicinal as a mild cathartic and emetic." The pods of this plant are placed by northern Thai in water on ritual occasions, and the resultant liquid (particularly if it has been chanted over by monks) is considered to have powers of purification. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 231) says that cumin may also be added to the liquid, but in my experience in Mae Sariang, only the *sompōi* pods were deemed significant.

57. This custom is also reported by Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 229); Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 161) says that "the person in the house took pots of water to clean the room in which the corpse had been lying and also the ladder; then they broke all the pots". Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 164) says that at the funeral he attended no actual cleansing of the place occupied in the house by the corpse was performed.

58. The word *song* (ส่ง) is used in referring to seeing a person off on a journey or to indicate that something has been sent to another place. Here it conveys the idea of accompanying the corpse to the cemetery from where it will never return.

59. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 231) interprets this washing, plus that of cleansing the house after the corpse has returned, as a purification procedure undertaken to ensure that fortune (*sirimongkhon*, ศิริมงคล) returns to those who have trafficked with a corpse. He says that people returning from the cemetery will also wash their heads with the special water.

60. Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 161) says that "a temporary ladder with three steps was made and put over the regular ladder of the house. When the coffin was taken down, it was carried over this temporary ladder." Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 164) says that this custom has disappeared from Kū Dāeng.

When the corpse has reached the cemetery,⁶¹ the clergy who have gone to send off the corpse pull (*chak*, ชัก) the *paṅsukūla* (*bangsukun*, บังสุกุล) cloth.⁶² When the *paṅsukūla* cloth is pulled, no one else is nearby (for it is an occasion solely) for the clergy to reflect (*phitcāranā*, พิจารณา) on the corpse as a meditation on impurity (Pāli: *asubha-kammaṭṭhāna*). (This leads to) the reflection that the life of us humans is not permanent (*mai thiāng*, ไม่เที่ยง) in that in the beginning we are born, in the middle (of life) there is change, and at last we perish. Everyone is alike; no one can escape.⁶³

61. The Phra Khrū does not describe the procession to the cemetery. According to Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 227) a specially made and decorated tiered structure, called a *prāsāt* ปราสาท; Pali: *prāsāda*) is used to convey the corpse and coffin to the cemetery. Such a structure is made of bamboo and is decorated with paper. I have seen such structures used for funerals in northeastern Thailand and also know them to be used in villages surrounding Mae Sariang. In Mae Sariang town the *prāsāt* is placed upon a wagon kept at the main wā in town (Wat Kittiwong) in order to convey the corpse to the cemetery. The following passage is my description of a procession held on 30 July 1978 at the funeral of an old man employed by the major lumber company in Mae Sariang:

At the head of the procession was a man striking the special type of bell-shaped gong that is only used, outside the wats, when the monks and novices process out to receive their morning alms and when there is a cremation. Following the gong was a man carrying a pole to which was attached a special *thong* ("banner") with "three tails" [i.e. the *tung sām hāng*] and a top half symbolically shaped to indicate a human being and a sack filled with offerings of food for the deceased [i.e. the *tung khao*] provided by the dead man's relatives. Both the *thong* and sack were made of plain white cloth. Behind this came several men carrying long bamboo poles. Mō Thawōn [an informant from the lumber company] indicated that these were for poking the fire, but they were subsequently cut up and used, at least in part, as containers for water which the monks poured during their chanting. Behind these (poles) came the cortege itself—a wagon containing the coffin inside a decorated structure. The wagon was pulled by women and pushed by men. Also helping to pull the wagon, and in front of the women, were a group of "temporary novices" who were relatives of the deceased and had been specially ordained for the cremation. Following the cortege (in fact all around it) were other people who were also going to the cremation, but who took no special role.

At the cemeteries in villages, a new pyre is constructed for each funeral. In Mae Sariang this was also the case until early in 1968 when a permanent concrete crematorium was constructed. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 229) says that traditionally permanent crematoria, when they were constructed, were made of brick. LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 192) says that when the corpse is taken to a cemetery, "the exact spot [for cremation] is chosen by flinging away at hazard a bag containing a single egg. The spot where the egg breaks is considered the 'home' of the dead man, and there the cremation takes place." I saw this custom in practice in the village in northeastern Thailand where I carried out research. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 229) records that when a funerary procession reaches the cemetery, it makes a three-fold circumambulation around the pyre. During this circumambulation, the living keep their left side (the inauspicious side) towards the pyre, but the body, carried around head first, has its right side nearer the pyre. At the funeral I attended in July 1968 in Mae Sariang, I noted the following events as having occurred before the monks took the *paṅsukūla* cloth, the next action which the Phra Khrū describes:

At the cremation grounds, the wagon was pushed right up to the crematorium. The preparations (for the cremation) included taking off the superstructure above the casket, draping white (*paṅsukūla*) cloths across the casket, and placing candles, flowers, and bamboo tubes next to the cloths and all around the casket. The casket was still on the wagon. Some female relatives distributed the ceremonial "lighters" consisting of paper bows, three sticks of incense, and treated wood which burns easily (this custom seems to be an innovation, modeled on central Thai practice) to each person present. Others also distributed *mīang* (fermented tea chewed by northern Thai) and cigarettes to the guests. The first symbolic act was the washing of the face of the corpse with coconut water. A coconut was taken and broken open over the face of the corpse and then the coconut was thrown away.

62. The term *paṅsukūla* has the root meaning of "dusty rags". According to Wells (*op. cit.*, p. 112), at the time of the Buddha "it was then prescribed that robes should be made of rags cast away, or of cloth used to wrap the bodies of the dead when taking them to the cremation grounds". He continues: "at present the *paṅsukūla* cloth is presented to monks who chant funeral services, and consists of fresh new robes laid across the coffin—not the dusty rags once left at cremation grounds". He also gives a translation of the Pāli formula chanted on such occasions. This formula includes the dedication of merit to the benefit of the deceased. The verb *chak* is used in referring to what the monks do with the *paṅsukūla* cloth because they do "pull" the cloth off the body or the pyre.

63. Meditation on corpses for the purpose of realizing the truth of the Buddhist doctrine of impermanence (*anicca*) has an important place in Buddhist practice.

Before pulling (off) the *paṅsukūla* cloth, four candles are lit at the four points of the corpse.⁶⁴ These are called (in Northern Thai) *tian sangkḥon* (เทียนสังข์อัน). After the clergy (have) finished (taking) the *paṅsukūla* (cloth), the coffin is opened and coconut juice is used to bathe the face of the corpse and then (the body) is raised onto the pyre and cremated.⁶⁵ While the cremation is going on, the sponsor is likely to have invited four monks to chant the seven texts of the Abhidhamma (*phra aphitham cet khamphī*, พระอภิธรรม ๗ คัมภีร์).⁶⁶ This is called "chanting in front of the fire" (*sūt nā fai*, สุตหน้าไฟ). This chanting in front of the fire is for sending off the soul (*dūang winyān*, ดวงวิญญาณ) of the deceased to heaven (*suwan*, สุวรรณ).⁶⁷

64. At the funeral I attended in Mae Sariang in July 1968, I noted the following in connection with the monk's taking of the *paṅsukūla* cloth:

There were seven monks. Each took hold of one of the white cloths and chanted in unison (or almost in unison since some the monks were from Thai and others from Burmese wats). Then they pulled the cloths off and handed them to a layman who in turn folded up the cloths and put them in the monks' bags. The monks then individually poured water from the bamboo tubes onto the ground, chanting as they did. This, Mr. Insūan (another lay informant) explained to me, was to "send" the merit to the deceased.

65. This custom is also reported by Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 229). I observed it being performed in Mae Sariang although it took place before the monks received the *paṅsukūla* robes (see footnote 64). A lay informant in Mae Sariang (an ex-monk and a leading layman in the town) told me that coconut water is considered to be the purest of liquids (*nām borisut*, น้ำบริสุทธิ์), presumably because it has never been exposed to any external influences prior to the coconut being opened. Honored guests in northern Thai houses are often served coconut juice as a sign of respect.

66. Obviously, it is impossible for monks to chant the whole of the Abhidhamma on this occasion. Rather, there would be chanting of a few selections (*gāthā*; cf. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 226).

67. The following passage is my description of the events at a funeral in Mae Sariang which took place following the monks' receipt of the *paṅsukūla* cloths.

This was the only act by the monks [that is, they did not, as in the Phra Khrū's account, chant during the cremation]. Several women and young relatives (then) came forward and prostrated themselves three times before the casket. Then the casket was taken off the wagon and placed on the cremation pyre (both the bottom and top were taken off the casket so that the body would burn more easily). Then, each person came forward and threw his or her "lighter" on the pyre. This was the end of the ceremony, although several men stayed around to make sure that the fire consumed the body.

For another description of events which actually took place at a funeral in a northern Thai village, from the procession until the cremation, see Kingshill (*op. cit.*, pp. 170-171). On this occasion, the casket was carried on a litter by eight men rather than pulled on a wagon. Temporary novices preceded the casket, holding on to a white thread connected to the litter. The only act of the monks at this funeral, like the one I observed, was the taking of the *paṅsukūla* cloths. Kingshill says that after this act the monks returned to the temple. "We were told that priests could stay to witness the cremation, if they so wished. Sometimes, when a relative of a priest is cremated, the priest will stay. But, in general, their duty is done with the last chant, and they prefer to return to the temple" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Kingshill says that the casket was opened with an axe and the corpse taken out. The face of the corpse was anointed with coconut juice and then a bucket of water was poured over the whole body. He also adds that "occasionally, the bones of the corpse are cut with a saw to prevent the limbs from shooting up during the cremation" (*ibid.*). Finally, he says, the body was placed on a wood pyre and the casket and litter placed on top of it "so that it would burn better" (*ibid.*). The actual setting of fire to the casket follows a custom usually associated only with funerals of monks or very high-status persons:

The temple-leader had prepared a fifty-foot long fuse out of paper and gunpower, which he now unrolled on the ground. The fuse was lit, and the flame rolled down until it lit a couple of rockets at the end of the fuse. These rockets shot up along a wire to the top of the coffin. There they ignited other rockets, which, in turn, lit the pyre. This type of elaborate fire lighting is done only in very special cases, when the deceased is a village leader or a rich person, or, perhaps, a priest. For others the firewood is lit simply by holding the kerosene lamp, which had been standing on the coffin since the time of death, to the wood. (*ibid.*, p. 171).

LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 122) describes another mode of lighting the fire: "each relative or friend will speed the departing guest on the way to his next re-incarnation by placing a lighted candle or shaving of wood on the funeral pyre".

What has been said thus far concerns the practices connected with the corpse (of one who, died naturally or died from witchcraft. According to the beliefs of northern (Thai) householders) there are different arrangements for corpses (of those) whose death (was sudden) or (was of the type which northern Thai call) *tāi kom tāi pāi* (ตายท้อมตายพราย; that is, death during childbirth).

4. Sudden death

It is believed that the souls (*dūang winyān*, ดวงวิญญาณ) of persons who die sudden deaths, (that is, deaths) considered to be *akālamaraṇa*, untimely deaths, deaths which are not good, will remain around the place where they died. They will not be reborn as is ordinarily the case. Villagers fear (these souls) very much, fear that the spirits of those who died sudden deaths (*phī hōng*, ผีโหงง) will haunt (*lōklōn*, หลอกหลอน) them or cause good people to fall ill. They will vow to feed (*liang*, เลี้ยง) (these spirits) from then on. Anyone whose illness is caused by a spirit of one who died a violent death (*phī hōng*, ผีโหงง) is said to have been stricken by such a spirit (*thūk phī hōng*, ถูกผีโหงง). Knowledge that one has been stricken by a spirit of one who died a sudden death comes from seers (*mō du*, หมอดู) spirit doctors (*mō phī*, หมอผี) or possessed persons, that is mediums (*khon song khū cao nāi*, คนทรงคือเจ้านาย). (These specialists tell) why the spirit of one who has died a sudden death has caused (the illness) (and tell) what the spirit wants to eat. When they have said these things, a "vow" (*bon*, บุญ) is made. A vow is telling the spirit that if the ill person is freed from his affliction in so many days, then an offering of a duck, a chicken, a pig, liquor or something will be made. When the person gets better in the period (specified), then the offering will be made (to fulfill) the vow. This belief is still held today.

Those who die sudden deaths are cremated or buried wherever they die.⁶⁸ It is not common to take the corpse to place it for merit-making in the house as (is the case of) an ordinary corpse because of the fear of (what in Northern Thai is called) "*khuy*" (ชืด), (that is, evil). Today, it is common for the corpse (of one who has died a sudden death) to be taken and placed in the *wat*. The corpse of one who has died a sudden death is not kept long. (As with funerals for those who died ordinary deaths), clergy are invited (to the funeral of one who had died a sudden death) to send off (*song*, ส่ง) the corpse.⁶⁹

68. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 239) says that those who die sudden deaths are cremated within the day following death and that rites take place at the *wat*, not in the home. I observed two funerals (on the same day, 14 April 1968) for two people in Mae Sariang who died sudden deaths. One was a young girl (14 years old) who sickened and died within a day. The second was a 56-year-old Chinese merchant who committed suicide by taking rat poison after an argument with his wife. Both were cremated and, before the cremation, monks came and chanted and received *paṇsukūla* robes. The most dramatic sudden death in Mae Sariang during the time I lived there was the murder of a very wealthy mine operator (among other business occupations) and politician. While his funeral took place in Chiang Mai, his wife sponsored in Mae Sariang a special merit-making rite four months after the event in order, as she said, to overcome the bad karma of his violent death.

69. Kingshill (*op. cit.*, p. 165) describes a funeral for a man in the village of Kū Dāēng whose unexpected death on a Buddhist sabbath (precept) day was deemed to have been an unnatural death. The body was buried in a grave under a *bō* tree, that is, the tree which minds people of the *bōdhi* tree under which the Buddha found Enlightenment. At this funeral, Kingshill reports, the body was not removed through a hole in the floor as custom dictates.

It is held that the soul (*dūang winyān*, ดวงวิญญาณ) of a person who has died a sudden death is not pure and is not capable of entering a *wat*. Thus, when merit is made to be dedicated to the person who died a violent death, such as (on the occasion) of an alms-offering of bowls (filled) with rice (*khan khao*, ข้าวข้าว) or of food baskets (*kūai sang*, ถ้วยส่ง), monks are invited to give the blessing of dedication of a portion of merit outside the *wat*. This is called "alms-offering outside the *wat*" (*tān nōk wat*, ทานนอกวัด).⁷⁰

5. *Death in childbirth* (tāi kom tāi pāi, ตายกั่มตายพราย)

It is believed that death in childbirth is not good, (being) more unfortunate than any other kind (of death). Burial takes place on the same day as the death occurs. There are no religious rites whatsoever; monks are not invited to receive alms or to send off the corpse. The corpse is not placed in a coffin. A litter is used to carry (the body) to the cemetery. The corpse cannot be taken from the house by way of the stairs; (rather), it is passed through a large opening made by prying up the floorboards of the house. After the corpse has been passed through this opening, it is placed on a litter and taken directly to the cemetery. If the corpse is (of one) who died with a child in her womb, (that is, what in Northern Thai is called) *tāi kom* (ตายกั่ม), before it is buried—and it cannot be cremated⁷¹—a magical practitioner (*mō saiyāsāt*, หมอไสยศาสตร์)⁷² takes a sickle used for cutting rice to break open the womb. If the child is dead, it is taken and buried with the mother.

When the burial has been satisfactorily completed, if the husband is returning from the cemetery—usually he would not be likely to go and send off the corpse of his wife—he must not return home. Rather, he must go immediately to the *wat*.⁷³ Having slept (overnight) at the *wat*, he requests (permission) to be ordained as a novice, or even sometimes as a monk. He remains in the clergy sometimes for three days, sometimes seven days, sometimes fifteen days, depending on his faith.⁷⁴ When he leaves the *wat*, a magical practitioner (*mō saiyāsāt*, หมอไสยศาสตร์) performs the rite of cutting him from the *pāi* (พราย; spirit of one who has died in childbirth). This is so that the *pāi* (spirit) which is his (late) wife will not be attached to him. If the child has not died, a rite cutting it off from the *pāi* is also held. It is believed that if the ordination and the (rite of) cutting off from the *pāi* are not held, the *pāi* (spirit) which is his (late) wife will attach itself to him until the day he dies. If he wants to marry again, any woman who knows the story will be prejudiced against him and will not

70. At the ritual of *salākkaphat* (สลากภัตต์), or *kinkūaisalāk* (กินก่ายสลาก) as it is called in northern Thailand, alms-offerings are given to the monks and the resultant merit dedicated to a specific deceased person (see footnote 85). At one such ritual in Mae Sariang, I observed "alms-offering outside the *wat*" being performed by a family whose relative had died a sudden death.

71. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 239) also says that such corpses can never be cremated.

72. Sangūan (*ibid.*) says that the rites connected with a person who has died in childbirth are performed in accord with magical (*saiyāsāt*, ไสยศาสตร์) rather than with Buddhist religious (*sāsanā*, ศาสนา) beliefs.

73. Sangūan (*ibid.*, pp. 239-240) reports that a sacred cord (*sāisin*, สายสิญจน์) will be tied between the husband and his dead wife and then cut by the magician. As soon as this is finished, he goes directly to the *wat*.

74. Sangūan (*ibid.*, p. 240) also notes that ordination by the husband of a woman who dies in childbirth is a northern Thai practice.

be willing to marry him. Merit-making for a person who dies this type of death is performed after the burial has been satisfactorily completed.

6. Rites following the cremation

While the corpse is still present for merit-making in the house, (the house) is said to be "the corpse's house" (*bān sop*, บ้านศพ) or "the spirit's house" (*bān phī*, บ้านผี). There is chanting and the giving of sermons each night (during this period while the corpse is in the house). (During the ensuing period) after the corpse has been cremated, but before there has been the chanting (which will end the funerary rites), the house is called a "cold dwelling" (*hūan nēn*, เชื้อเย็น)⁷⁵ and no religious rites are held.

Three or four days following the cremation, at a time fixed by the sponsor, there will be chanting at the house. (This chanting,) called the "household *saṅgaha* chant" (*sūt saṅgaha bān*, สูตรสังคหะบ้าน),⁷⁶ (is performed) in order that there might be auspiciousness (*siri-mongkhon*, ศิริมงคล) for the house and for the people who live in the house. This is not done at all in order to dedicate (merit) to the deceased. The household *saṅgaha* chant (includes) the chanting by monks of the *Maṅgala-sutta*⁷⁷ and the dharmic sermon called *Dhamma Jaya-saṅgaha*.⁷⁸ In the afternoon of the same day before the (chanting) of the household *saṅgaha* chant, monks are invited to go and pull *paṅsukūla* (cloth at the) remains (*at*, อัฐิ) in the

75. Sangūan (*ibid.*, p. 215) says that the term *hūan nēn* (เชื้อเย็น) applies to the house during the whole of time between death and the final rites, and he says that the term is a shorthand way of referring to funerary rites. These rites may also collectively be called *pōi phī tāi* (ปอยผีตาย), "the festival of the spirit of the dead". He interprets the term *hūan nēn* as signifying the grief felt by household members during the period of funerary rites. Such an interpretation does not accord with other uses of the term *nēn* (pronounced *yen* in standard Thai), as below in the interpretation of "cool water", which signify detachment from emotional states. Sangūan also says (*ibid.*, p. 231) that after a cremation has taken place, members of the household in which the deceased lived will place a device, known in Northern Thai as *tālāeo* (ตำเหลว) and in standard Thai as *chalēo* (เฉลว), at the doorway of the house. McFarland (*op. cit.*, p. 271) defines a *chalēo* as "a device made by folding and crossing thin bamboo strips to the shape of two equilateral triangles, so interlaced as to form a six-pointed figure, having open spaces between the slats". The *tālāeo/chalēo* is used not only by northern Thai and Thai, but also by neighboring tribal groups as well as by other Buddhist groups in southeast Asia, as a protective amulet against evil spirits. Sangūan says that it is used in the funerary ritual so that the spirit of the deceased will be frightened and will not return and enter the house.

76. *Saṅgaha* (Northern Thai : *sangkaha*, สังคหะ), which in some contexts means "collecting, accumulation", here has the meaning of "kindliness, assistance, support, aid". Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 230) says that the significance of this chant is "to make merit in order to cleanse the house of inauspiciousness (*avamāṅgala*)".

77. See *Pali Chanting Scripture* (*op. cit.*, pp. 65-73) and Tambiah (*op. cit.*, pp. 214-215) for the same translation of this chant. The title of the chant means "The Great Blessings" and the substance concerns how the positive consequences of bliss can be attained through moral action. The chant is also believed by many people to have intrinsic power (i.e. to be a spell) to create auspiciousness.

78. This perhaps may be the *Jayamaṅgalagāthā*, "Conquest and Blessing" (see *Pali Chanting Scripture*, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-137 and Tambiah, *op. cit.*, p. 216, for text and translation).

cemetery.⁷⁹ Relatives take the remains and place them in a pot (which) is (then) taken and deposited at the *wat*. (There) later (the remains will be placed in what in Northern Thai is called) a *kū* (กู่; i.e. a reliquary) (which) is constructed as a memorial (*anusōn*, อนุสรณ์).⁸⁰ They might also be taken and buried at the cemetery. When the household *saṅgaha* chant is finished, the funerary rites will have been completed.⁸¹

79. On 19 April 1968, I attended the collecting of the remains (*kep kradūk*, เก็บกระดูก; lit., "collecting of the bones") of a woman who had been cremated in Mae Sariang. The following is my description of the events which took place on this occasion:

There were about ten people present, including four novices whom I took to have been ordained for the cremation, three or four youngish women and late teenagers, and two or three young men, plus (one monk). They had brought with them the following: a silver bowl containing *sompōi* water, a small earthenware pot, a basket, *pānsukūla* cloth, and a cone of *khriāng būchā* (เครื่องบูชา; i.e. candles, flowers, and incense used as an offering to Buddhist sacra). There was also a wreath of artificial flowers, made out of tinfoil, which may have already been at the cemetery and picked up for use on this occasion. The young men went and collected several large leaves from plants nearby. One woman, who seemed to be the youngest, knelt in front of the pyre and prostrated herself two times. Then she and other women, plus one or two of the men (including one novice) dug through the ashes and pulled out some bones. Most were placed in the bucket, while some were placed on the leaves near the pyre. Finally, when a large number had been collected in the bucket, the *sompōi* water was poured over them. Then as many were put in the pot as could be put there. This was then covered with a small white cloth which was tied with a piece of cotton thread. The remaining bones were placed on the large leaves and the wreath was placed over them. The pot was then taken away from the pyre and placed on another bed of leaves. An older woman placed the white cloth across the pot and then placed the cone of *khriāng būchā* over it. (The monk) came over and crouched in front of the cloth. He chanted, slowly removing the cloth and cone of *khriāng būchā* as he did. He ended by chanting a blessing (*hai phon*, ไห้พร). Then the pot was taken and placed in the center of the wreath on the pyre and the ceremony was over. (No remains were taken away from the cemetery.) (The monk) says that this ceremony is held either three or seven days after a cremation (in this case three days).

LeMay (*op. cit.*, p. 122) says that "as soon as it becomes possible, the ashes of the deceased are gathered together and kept by the family in an urn or small pot". Kingshill (*op. cit.*, pp. 171-172) observed somewhat different customs associated with collecting the relics of those cremated in Kū Dāēng:

The ashes and remaining bones are collected a few days after the funeral. Some villagers go out to the cemetery at any time, perhaps even the following morning. Others consult one of the priests for an auspicious time or hours (*ibid.*, p. 171).

At one funeral, the monk advised the widow to collect the remains on the morning of the seventh day following the cremation. He describes the events associated with this particular collecting of the remains as follows:

One of [the widow's] sons and a son-in-law . . . went to the cemetery early in the morning, put the ashes and a few remaining bones into an earthenware jar, and wrapped all of it into a white cloth. They then took it to the temple, where the two priests and two senior novices chanted a *suad* . . . over the remains. The sons took the bundle back out to the cemetery, where they buried it in an unmarked spot (*ibid.*, pp. 171-172).

80. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 230) says that the remains of high-status persons and of monks are enshrined in a *kū*. The remains of ordinary persons are placed, he says, in a sand reliquary in a watercourse where they are eventually washed away. Kingshill (*op. cit.*, p. 172) reports that in Kū Dāēng remains of ordinary persons were buried in the cemetery. He also reports how one man was dissuaded by a monk from enshrining the remains of his wife in a *kū*. The monk told the man that "it would be improper to build a tomb since the spirit [i. e. the soul, *dūang winyān*] of his wife would then stay at the tomb and would not have a chance to go elsewhere or be reborn. The remains of this woman were, therefore, also buried in the usual manner in an earthenware jar in an unmarked spot in the cemetery." In Mae Sariang the usual practice was also to bury the remains in the cemetery. The northern Thai practice contrasts with what I observed in northeastern Thailand where the remains of every adult who died a normal death were enshrined in a reliquary (called a *thāt*, ฐาต) located on the periphery of the *wat*. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 230) suggests that when a reliquary is constructed—as it is even in the north for monks and for high-status lay persons—it becomes the object of rites focused on the spirit that is connected with the shrine. Thus, a type of ancestor worship emerges.

81. The ritual process has thus moved from the disruption of the household following the death to the restoration of order (auspiciousness) with the household *saṅgaha* chant.

If there is making of merit to dedicate to the deceased again, it will be undertaken at the large affairs following the end of the rice harvest. (Then) relatives will join together (to sponsor the rites called in Northern Thai) *pōi khao sang* (ปอยเข้าสัง; “feast of rice [offerings] for the dead”) or *tān hūan nōi* (ตานเขื่อนน้อย; “alms-offering of a little house”).⁸² When these major merit-making (events have been held), the responsibility of the relatives (to the dead) is finished. There will (subsequently) be only alms-offering of containers of rice (*khan khao*, ขันเข้า)⁸³ and alms-offering of food baskets (*kūai sang*, ก้วยสัง)⁸⁴ at the *salāk* (สลาก) festival⁸⁵ or, occasionally, alms-offering of *dhamma* (texts).

If the deceased was a Shan or a Burman, a (ritual) to make merit to dedicate to the deceased (called, in Burmese?) *hāēm sōm* (แหม่มซอม)⁸⁶ is held three to seven days after the sending off of the corpse. Another merit-making (ritual), called (in Burmese?) *hāēm sōm kōcā* (แหม่มซอมโก้จา), is held in the eleventh lunar month, southern (Thai reckoning).⁸⁷ *Hāēm sōm kōcā* is similar to the Khonmūang (northern Thai) alms-offering of the *huan nōi* (เขื่อนน้อย) or *khao sang* (เข้าสัง).

Merit-making on the seventh, fiftieth, and hundredth days (following death) are all new (practices) for Mae Sariang Buddhists, being customs which have only recently come from central (Thailand) and have not yet spread among the people. These were not observed traditionally (in northern Thailand).

Everything said thus far concerns funerary customs of householders (*khrihat*, คฤหัสถ์) in general. The corpses of monks and novices are treated differently from those of householders.⁸⁸

82. At this ritual, a scale-model house (about one quarter actual size) is constructed in which all those things normally used by the deceased in her or his lifetime are placed. The house and its contents are then offered as alms to clergy invited to the home of the deceased. It is evident that the rites perpetuate an idea that goods can be offered for the actual use by the deceased. For a discussion of this ritual, see Sangūan (*op. cit.*, pp. 296-298) and for the same or related customs, see Kingshill (*op. cit.*, pp. 173-176). I observed a number of these rituals in Mae Sariang and plan a separate study based on my observations.

83. These offerings contain foods which do not need to be consumed immediately (i.e. uncooked rice, dried foods, canned foods, tea, etc.). In Mae Sariang, it is also popular to place such items as soap, toilet paper, matches, and so on in these offerings. *Khan khao* can be offered at any time; a popular time being an anniversary of a death.

84. A type of offering specifically connected with the *salākaphat* rite.

85. This ritual is a mass merit-making affair at which the alms offered to the clergy are distributed through a lottery (cf. footnote 70). For an account of this rite see Sangūan (*op. cit.*, pp. 62-70), and for descriptions of the actual performance of the rite in northern Thailand, see Kingshill (*op. cit.*, pp. 204-207) and Davis (“Muang metaphysics...”, *loc. cit.*, pp. 290-304). For a text associated with the ritual, together with some interpretation of the text, see *The Blessings of Religious Acts* (*op. cit.*). Again, I had the opportunity to observe many occasions on which this ritual was performed in Mae Sariang and I plan a separate study based on my observations.

86. There were in 1967-1968 two *wat* in Mae Sariang which followed Burmese practice, and two others which followed closely related Shan practice. I have translated the terms applied to Burmese/Shan customs from the Thai and am unable to reconstruct the original Burmese/Shan form.

87. The northern Thai calendar is two months ahead of the calendar as found in central (referred to in older northern Thai texts as “southern”) Thailand, as well as in other parts of the country. Thus, when a lunar calendar date is mentioned in the north, it must be specified whether or not the date is in accord with northern or central (southern) Thai reckoning.

88. I have described and analyzed a funeral of a monk in Mae Sariang in another context (Keyes, 1975, *op. cit.*). The customs in Mae Sariang are similar to those of the Shans and Burmese and differ somewhat from those followed elsewhere in northern Thailand. For typical northern Thai practice, see Sangūan (*op. cit.*, pp. 247-250) and for some discussion of Shan practice, see Sangūan (*ibid.*, pp. 337-339). For discussion of the significance of death rituals for the most revered northern Thai monk of modern times, see Keyes (“Death of two Buddhist saints in Thailand”, *op. cit.*).

When a monk or novice passes away (*dai thung kāē moranaphāp*, ได้ถึงแก่มรณภาพ),⁸⁹ instead of bathing his corpse with hot and cold water, as is done for corpses of householders, wax (*khi phung*, ขี้ผึ้ง) is taken to close the ears, eyes, nose and mouth, and two or three quarts of honey (*nām phung*, น้ำผึ้ง) are taken and poured into the mouth (of the corpse). This honey protects the corpse from decaying since (in the past) there was no medicine which could be injected to prevent decay as there is today. The corpse (of a monk or novice) must be kept for a long time, for months or years. The corpse is wrapped thickly in clerical robes (*phā cīwōn*, ผ้าจีวร) and then placed in a coffin when it has been finished. The corpse is placed for merit-making (*bamphen kuson*, บำเพ็ญกุศล) at the *wat*. Later, as is convenient, the corpse is unwrapped and taken for the rite (known in Northern Thai as) *pōi lō* (ปอยล้อ; “the feast of the cart [on which the corpse of a monk is placed]”). (This ritual) is held when the villagers are freed from the work of the harvest.

Whether the funeral or a monk or a novice is a large or small affair and whether the corpse is kept for a long time (before the funeral) depends on the importance of the deceased. If the monk or novice was a junior member of the monastery (*lūk wat*, ลูกวัด), the corpse will not be kept for long before the cremation is held and there will be no tug-of-war (*kānchaklāk*, การชักลาก) of the *prāsāda* (ปราสาท),⁹⁰ (the tiered structure on which the corpse is placed during the period of the final rites).

The place where a monk or novice is cremated is not to be mixed up with (the place used for funerals) of householders; it is held in a separate (location). Surrounding the pyre four bamboo poles are erected with a monk’s robe stretched out and attached (to the type of the poles). This signifies that it is the place for the cremation of a monk or novice.

If the corpse is that of a *bhikkhu* who held the status of abbot of a *wat* or higher (status) or who was a monk of many years in the monkhood (lit., aged many Lent) and was greatly respected and revered by the people in general, it will be kept a long time. At the time of the cremation, the large feast called *pōi lō* (ปอยล้อ) will be held. The festival (will last) for three or sometimes seven days, depending on the ability (of people) to organize it. During the festival there will be religious rites and sermons and chanting every night, and during the day, each day, there will be a tug-of-war (*kānchaklāk*, การชักลาก) of the *prāsāda* (containing) the corpse. It is believed that the tug-of-war of the *prāsāda* (containing) the corpse yields merit and demonstrates the respect and reverence (which people have) for the corpse. During the cremation rites, different *wat* make fire rockets which are called (in Northern Thai) “*bōk fai lō*” (บอกไฟล้อ; “tubal fire rockets”). (These) are used (to start) the cremation (fire). No ranking person takes the fire to begin the cremation as was done at the cremation of the *caokhun* (เจ้าคุณ) of Mae Hong Son. If there had not been a royal

89. Words used to refer to the death of a member of the Sangha, as well as to the death of a royal personage, are more elaborate than those used for ordinary mortals. These words are derived from Pāli/Sanskrit.

90. The *prāsāda* constructed for a monk is far more elaborate than that made for the funeral of an ordinary person, although those made for royalty and high-status lay persons are similar. This structure signifies the sacred cosmos of Hindu-Buddhist thought.

gift of the flame (to begin the cremation at that ritual), they would have used *bōk fai lō* also.⁹¹ After the cremation (of a monk or novice) is completed, the remains are later collected and installed in a *kū* (กู่; reliquary) at the *wat*.⁹²

7. Dharmic metaphors⁹³ connected with funerals⁹⁴

(a) *Bathing (the body) with hot and cold water.* Owing to the fact that the deceased had not bathed during his (final) illness, his body is likely to be dirty. After death, the body is bathed and cleansed and is properly dressed. In addition to this, people traditionally (saw in the act of bathing the body with hot and cold water) a metaphor for people to consider. "Hot water" means the fruits of various evil actions which cause one to receive suffering and trouble. Such (suffering and trouble) can be compared with bathing with hot water. "Cold water" means the fruits of good karma, that is merit (*bun kuson*, บุญกุศล) which for those who have gained it results in their receiving the cool shade which is constant happiness (*sukkha*). (This happiness) can be compared with bathing in cool water.⁹⁵

(b) *Placing money in the mouth of the corpse.* While we humans are alive, we are greedy (*lobha*) to accumulate material goods and wealth; we are, thus, avaricious. We do not know how to sacrifice and distribute wealth for the benefit of ourselves or for the collectivity. Once dead, it is impossible to take personal wealth with one. Even if (money) is placed in the mouth, it is still not possible to take it with one. Another interpretation (*nai*, นัย) says

91. In this passage, the Phra Khrū is referring to the funeral of the late provincial abbot of Mae Hong Son whose cremation both he and I attended in 1968. This monk, like certain other high-status individuals, was honored by having the flame to start the fire sent by H.M. the King of Thailand himself. Both for this reason and because the monk was not a native northern Thai (he originally came from northeastern Thailand), northern Thai customs were not observed at his funeral.

92. The Phra Khrū does not give any attention in his account to the funerals of royalty or other high-ranking persons. In part, he probably did not consider this topic because such funerals would almost never be held in Mae Sariang. Today, rites for high-ranking lay persons follow central Thai (or royal Thai) customs. In the past, such rites were comparable to those for a monk. For brief notes about traditional rites for high-ranking and royal northern Thai, see LeMay (*op. cit.*, p.127), A. R. Colquhoun (*Amongst the Shans*, pp.289-290), Bock (*op. cit.*, p. 262).

93. Although McFarland (*op. cit.*, p. 510) glosses the term *paritsanā* (ปริศนา, from Sanskrit *pariśāna*) as "a question; an inquiry; an interrogation; an allegory; a riddle; a parable", I believe that "metaphor" conveys better sense of the usage of the word here. In this context, various elements of ritual action are interpreted as pointing to a deeper meaning which comes from Buddhist dharma. "Metaphor" seems to me to convey best the relationship between the act and the religious interpretation.

94. The Phra Khrū here is most certainly drawing upon his knowledge of certain ritual texts—such as *ānisong sīa sop* or *ānisong lāng kāp* (see footnote 53)—for the interpretations he gives. See, in this connection, the translation of *ānisong sīa sop* in *The Blessings of Religious Acts* (*op. cit.*) and the compilations of dharmic metaphors based on *ānisong lāng kāp* in Sangūan (*op. cit.*, pp. 232-238) and Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-163). Although each source has dealt with a somewhat different set of metaphors than those considered by the Phra Khrū, all serve to find Buddhist significance in ritual acts connected with death.

95. Krai (in Kingshill, *ibid.*, p. 161) interprets the bathing with hot and cold water as follows:

The sins in our bodies are like hot water; they are bad ideas, prejudice, deceitful minds, and anger which emanate from the six doors: the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind. If we can draw these sins out and throw them away, everything becomes cold, like the hot water, when left to stand, will become cold as the quiet mind of a holy priest.

Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 233) suggests that this custom may derive from the Indian practice of bathing corpses with water from the Ganges.

that the deceased takes the money (to use) as the fare for the boat or raft to the land of spirits (*mūṅg phī*, เมื่องผี).⁹⁶

(c) *Binding (the hands and feet of the) corpse with string.* The metaphorical meaning of binding first the hands (and then the feet) is equivalent to the Pāli saying, *puttaṅ jive dhanāṅ hatthe bhariyā pāde*. Translated (this means) the passion (*taṅhā*) or love for a child is like a rope binding the neck; the passion of love for wealth is like a hemp put on (Northern Thai: *sup*, สูป) the elbows; the passion of love for a wife is like a sheath put on the feet.⁹⁷

(d) *The candle of time.* The candle of time (เทียนยาม) is lit beginning on the day of death and continues (to burn) until the day of the disposal of the corpse. In addition to burning the candle so that there is light to see the corpse, people traditionally (also said that this) practice had a religious moral meaning. They said that the hearts of humans are dark because they have become beclouded by impurities (*kilesa*), passion (*taṅhā*) and ignorance (*avijjā*), making one incapable of seeing the good which is the portion of merit. When the heart is dark, one must use a light (*prathip*, ปราชิต) which is the dharma as a means to illuminate the way to make the heart bright and to see the ways in life leading to good. The dharma can thus be compared to that light.⁹⁸

96. Sangūan (*ibid.*, p. 235) gives the same interpretation as that presented here, although in slightly different words. Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 162) offers the following exegesis:

All people are lovers of money. Some try to get it by any means, such as cheating or stealing. When a person dies, the money is put in his mouth to show that the dead cannot eat. For money is a worldly thing; we cannot take it with us when we die.

Krai also provides an interpretation of placing a chew of betel in the dead person's mouth, an interpretation not found in other sources:

Man has a dirty mouth. He uses his mouth to gossip with his neighbors. He eats everything, whether it is clean or dirty. When he dies, he cannot eat anything, even ground betel.

97. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 235) says that the meaning of the strings is to remind one of the pitfalls of love of children and wife, of parents, and of wealth. He goes on (*ibid.*, pp. 235-236) to say that "even if these strings cannot be cut with a knife, even if they do not burn in the cremation fire, they can be cut by wisdom (*pañña*) and practice of the Eight-fold Path". Krai (in Kinghill, *op. cit.*, p. 162) interprets the strings as follows:

Roping the body with three turns of white thread. The three turns of thread are passion, anger, and prejudice, which are bound to our bodies. This is called our burden (*trāsāeng*, ตราแสง). When the corpse is taken to the cemetery, the undertaker cuts the three turns of thread, thereby removing the three burdens by the three wisdoms: charity, kindheartedness, and meditation. The four principles of Buddhist belief are: (1) Life is burdensome and unhappy; it is tragic. (2) The ambition of man is to be this and that, making him indifferent to life. (3) To know how to stay away from these ambitions. (4) The Middle Way will lead us to destroy unhappiness and tragedy.

The whole essence of Buddhist doctrine has thus been linked to the threads used to tie parts of the body of a dead person.

98. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 237) says that a lamp (*takhān*, ตะเทียน), which may be used instead of a candle, is like a human life because once its fuel is finished, it goes out and cannot be relit. Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 162) interprets the lighting of a lamp as follows: "Light represents wisdom. When the light is out, life meets death. Life without wisdom is hard and dark life." Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 158), who observed a kerosene lantern being used instead of a candle at a funeral in Ku Daeng, was told that the "lamp was lit and placed at the head of the body, 'so that the ghost of the deceased can see all that is going on in the room, including the gifts that are placed near the body for making merit' ". He was also told by a monk "that the purpose of this lamp was to light the way for the dead person so that he might find the way to the other world".

(e) *Beautiful flowers placed in the hands (of the corpse)*. (This) means that the soul of the deceased will take flowers to go to pay respects to the jeweled hair relic of Cuḷamanī in the Tāvatiṃsa Heaven.⁹⁹

(f) *The monk's almsbowl*. (This) signifies the almsbowl of the Lord Buddha. That is, at the time of a funeral, the Lord Buddha processes here to (show his) mercy (*prōt*, โปรด). By having an almsbowl for the Lord Buddha, (offerings of) food (*āhān khāo wān*, อาหารคาวหวาน), areca nuts, fermented tea (*mīang*, เมี่ยง), betel leaves, cheroots, uncooked rice, and a one-baht coin can be placed in it. After the corpse has been taken down from the house, the almsbowl is taken directly to the *wat*.¹⁰⁰

(g) *Three-tailed banner (tung sām hāng, ตุงสามหาง)*. This banner of white cloth is sewn so that it is a bag with three edges. In this bag-banner are placed various kinds of food. It is taken and placed at the head of the corpse when the corpse is in the house. When the corpse is taken to the cemetery to be cremated, there are those who carry the bag in front of the corpse. This three-tailed banner signifies the Triple Gems. Buddhists during their lifetime take the Three Gems as their refuge and as the foundation for the path in life leading to good. Even after death, (the Triple Gems) are taken as the refuge for the soul going to a state of peacefulness (*sugati*). The three-tailed banner is thus comparable to the Triple Gems.¹⁰¹

(h) *Three-step stairs (or) the spirit stairway (bandai phī, บันไดผี)*. (This) signifies the three realms (*bhava*), namely the sensual realm (*kama-bhava*), the realm of form (*rūpa-bhava*), and the formless realm (*arūpa-bhava*). So long as we humans still have impurities (*kilesa*), we will go round and round, dying and being born in these three realms, without end until (we)

99. Krai does not mention this metaphor, but Sangūan (*op. cit.*, p. 218), although out of context, does interpret the placing of flowers, as well as candles and incense, in the hands of a corpse in the same way as the Phra Khrū has done. LeMay (*op. cit.*, pp. 191-192) says that flowers, candles and a waxen boat are placed in the hands of the corpse, "the symbolism of this ceremony being that the flowers and candles are to be offered to the relics of the Lord Buddha in the Crystal Pagoda of Heaven, and the boat is to carry the dead man across the vast Ocean of Eternity, and help him escape from the relentless Wheel of Life". G.E. Gerini (*A Retrospective View and Account of the Origin of the Thet Maha Ch'at*, p. 9) tells the story of the reliquary in the Tāvatiṃsa Heaven in the following terms:

(The shrine is a sacred spire) in which a tooth relic is enshrined. This tooth was stolen at the distribution of Buddha's relics which took place after his cremation, by a Brahmin . . . who concealed it in his top-knot [*cula*] so that it became, so to speak, a gem [*mani*] or crest for the Brahmin's hair. Indra snatched the precious tooth from the Brahmin and enshrined it in the spire, which is situated in the Tāvatiṃsa Heaven. The same spire contains Buddha's hair.

Implied in the interpretation by the Phra Khrū (and Sangūan and LeMay) is that the soul of the deceased will first go to the Tāvatiṃsa Heaven before being reborn in a new form.

100. Sangūan does not mention this metaphor. Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 163) gives the following interpretation of the almsbowl: "When a man is still living, he is not much interested in the problems of sin or charity. When his life is about to reach its end, he feels that he will die soon, so he begins to learn how to be charitable to priests".

101. Sangūan does not mention this metaphor. Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 163) says that "the three-tailed flag may be compared to the 'Three Refuges': The Lord Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood. Buddhists are supposed to seek refuge in these three". He distinguishes the three-tailed flag from the sack of rice and gives to the latter the following interpretation (*loc. cit.*): "the bag of rice consists of one hundred little packages of rice which are supposed to be for the dead. However, they are given to the beggars at the cemetery." Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 158) was also told that the three-tailed banner represented the Buddhist Trinity and says that the sack of food (*thung khāo*, ถุงข้าว) symbolizes "the food which the dead person should carry with him on his way to the other world".

reach Nibbāna. Traditionally, people made the three-step stairs and placed it so that people below (the house) would think about this dharmic metaphor.¹⁰²

(i) *The two pots containing sompōi water.* The first pot is used for anointing the corpse (as it is) taken down from the house. The other pot is taken to the entrance of the path leading to the cemetery for those who have sent off the corpse to use in washing their hands as they return home. The *sompōi* water in these two pots, used for anointing and washing, (serves to) drive away completely accursed misfortune (*saniat canrai*, เสนียดจัญไร), various evil things and the vile (Northern Thai: *khut*, ขี้ต) beings (*tūa*, ตัว).¹⁰³

(j) *The wax (used) to close (the orifices) on the head of the corpse.* (Traditionally, people) drew the following dharmic metaphor for reflection (from this action). We humans have pleasant and unpleasant emotions which emerge from the sense-organs (*āyatana phāinai*, อายตนะภายใน) of the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind being affected by the sense-objects (*āyatana phāinōk*, อายตนะภายนอก) of form, sound, smell, taste, sensation, and moral sense. (This contact) thus creates feelings, as, for example, when the eyes see a form and the ears hear a sound. If the form is lovely, it is pleasing and desirable. (If) the ears hear a sound which is pleasant, it (also) is pleasing and desirable. When we have desire, that is, craving (*taṇhā*), this causes action (*kamma*) to be undertaken, actions which cannot follow a good path but which will take an evil path. Thus, it was taught to close the ears, the eyes, the nose, and so on (so as to) control oneself to be wary and not to have pleasure or wickedness. The contact between these two (aspects) of sense can be compared to taking wax to place in the eyes, ears, nose, and so on.¹⁰⁴

(k) *Iron and gold banners (tung lek tung tōng, ตุงเหล็กตุงทอง).* It is believed that if there are iron and gold banners, the dead person will be able to go to a peaceful state. Even if he should be subject to suffering, he will be freed from this suffering. Even if he is not freed, it will be caused to be lessened. Thus, on every occasion when there is a corpse, iron and gold banners are placed (by it). When the corpse is taken down from the house

102. Krai (in Kingshill, *ibid.*, p. 162) gives an additional interpretation of the stairway: "The ladder with three steps... is comparable to the three conditions [that is, the three realms mentioned by the Phra Khrū] ... The ladder is destroyed to show that the dead man is freed from these conditions, that he will never be born again".

103. Sangūan (*op. cit.*, pp. 233-234) says that the breaking of the pot signifies the inevitable destruction of form essence (*rūpa-dhamma*), nominal-essence (*nāma-dhamma*) and the constituent elements (*khandha*). He also says (*ibid.*, p. 236) that the washing of the place where the corpse had been signifies taking the Noble Eightfold Path and the Three Conditions of Being (*traī lakkhanā*, ไตรลักษณ์) to cleanse the corpse. Finally, he says (*ibid.*, pp. 236-237) that those who wash their hands and head with water to which *sompōi* and cumin have been added will have accursed misfortunes and suffering and sorrow dispelled. "Cumin and *sompōi* water cleanse one of inauspicious things (such as death)." Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 163) says that "the lustral water is to be used by all the people in the procession to cleanse themselves when they return. It is considered holy water, which will protect a person from all kinds of evil."

104. This metaphor is not mentioned by either Krai or Sangūan.

to go to the cemetery, the iron and gold banners are taken to the *wat*. Because they have been taken from the *wat*, they are called homage (Northern Thai: *pūcā*, ပျံ့ချာ) (items).¹⁰⁵

Conclusion‡

There are still other dharmic metaphors which can be posited with reference to the elements of funerary rituals. Sangūan¹⁰⁶ reflects on the corpse being dressed in new clothes. Even though the clothes may be beautiful, he says, the deterioration of the body remains obvious. Thus, it can be seen that nothing is as beautiful as when there is still life. Krai¹⁰⁷ notes that in some funerals a measuring stick is placed in the coffin with the corpse. "This is a sign," he says, "to warn the dead man of his size. Thereby he will act according to his real condition, his real size and will not try to exaggerate." Both Krai¹⁰⁸, reflecting on three

‡ By Charles F. Keyes.

105. Krai (in Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 160) provides the following exegesis on this item:

[*Tung lek tung tōng*] is a native word meaning 'flag'. It is a symbol for the dead. . . . Nowadays . . . goods are expensive; gold and silver are scarce. We cannot make offerings by giving real things to the dead. Therefore, the iron and golden flags have become a substitute for these properties. The little pieces of gold leaf are used as a substitute for gold, and the tin foil of a package of cigarettes can take the place of silver. Sometimes the whole is painted with mercury. Soil, rice, and other pieces of property making a total of twelve, are put on the tray.

This interpretation seems to suggest that the *tung lek tung tōng* are a recent invention, being a substitute for some real wealth that used to be dedicated to the dead. In fact, this item has probably long been imbedded in the northern Thai tradition. Kingshill (*ibid.*, p. 159) records an old sermon, told by a monk, which provides the mythical basis for the inclusion of *tung lek tung tōng* in rituals connected with the dead:

[O]nce upon a time there was a priest whose hobby was working as a blacksmith. One day he went into the jungle to find a big tree out of which to make a new stove. When he had finally found one which was big and strong enough for his purpose, he returned to the temple to get an ax to cut down the tree. He never returned to cut the tree, however, because he was suddenly taken ill and died within a few short moments. After his death his [soul (*winyān*)] went to stay in the tree in the jungle and became a lizard . . . , because he had been thinking of cutting down the tree before his death. One day a girl from the village went into the jungle to cut firewood, but she could not find her way home. So she went to the tree where the lizard was living and asked him to protect her from all danger. The lizard had mercy on her and did as she had asked. The next morning, after the lizard had shown the girl the way back to the village, she asked him whether there was anything he wanted her to do when she got back home. The lizard asked her to make an iron flag and a golden flag and to offer them to the priest in the temple so that he could be released from being a lizard watching a tree. When the girl had done as he had requested, and transferred her merit to the lizard, the lizard was released and reborn in the other world. Today we believe . . . that by giving an iron flag and a gold flag to the temple at a funeral, the merit thus made will help the spirit of the dead person to be reborn in the other world.

The following is my description of a *tung lek tung tōng* which I observed at a ritual of merit-making for a dead relative of a person living in Mae Sariang:

The *tung* was about one and half feet high. The top of the *tung* was a representation of a lotus made from tin. Hanging from the rim at the top of the implement were a number of symbolic objects including a boat, paddle, raft, pole for propelling a raft, and seven pieces of wood of the same shape. Some of the latter had pieces of metal inside and some had other things. The symbolism of the boat and raft (as given to me by a young Mae Sariang man who was serving as my assistant) is that the soul of the dead might need a craft to cross the river dividing hell from heaven or (according to another older informant) to reach the land of the spirits.

The basic symbolism of the *tung lek tung tōng* then would appear to be as a representation of the implements (physically, banners reaching to the heavens, boats, wealth to pay the way; metaphysically, the merit made by oneself and by others who have transferred to the one) which can be used in attaining heaven or a good rebirth.

106. *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

107. In Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

108. *Loc. cit.*

planks on the bottom of the coffin, and Sangūan¹⁰⁹, who considers three pieces of bamboo which are pulled when the corpse is taken down from the house as well as the threefold circumambulation at the pyre, assert that the number three signifies the three conditions or states of existence: the condition of sensuousness, the condition of form and formless condition. So long as humans act in accord with their desires (*taṇhā*), they will continually be reborn in one of these conditions. Krai says, therefore, that "a wise person should pray to be freed from these conditions absolutely. Success in this will bring hope for [Nibbāṇa]."¹¹⁰

Krai sees in the vase of candles placed near the coffin "a sign of gratefulness. The dead is considered a sinless body, so we ought to give him recognition for being cleansed from his sins." He also sees the offerings of flowers, candles and incense placed near the corpse as a symbol of the Triple Gems.¹¹¹ Sangūan notes that a path (to where is not mentioned) is traced on the ground at the time of a funeral. This act means that one should be intent on doing those things (making merit, offering alms, keeping the precepts and meditating, aspiring for Nibbāṇa) which are the correct path and avoiding those things which intoxicate us with sentient existence, thereby closing the path to Nibbāṇa.¹¹²

Krai sees two actions as serving to sever the deceased from the world in which he has lived:

Choosing a man wearing a diamond ring to lead the funeral procession [has the following meaning:] Man is love with living. When he dies, he must get rid of this love. The man who wears the ring will not look back, but must look at the diamond ring until the procession gets to the cemetery. Diamond is a good thing to look at in order to forget all of the past.

At the gate (to the village) there is some mark of demarcation which "is to show the dead man has been associated with the world long enough. He ought to forget about it absolutely, never to come back again."¹¹³ Sangūan interprets the taboo against looking back when one is on the way to the cemetery with a corpse as signifying that when a person has died, and become a spirit, he ceases to be a relative of those who were his parents, children, nephews, nieces, and so on. Thus, he should no longer concern himself in their affairs.¹¹⁴

Krai sees in the thread used by the monks and/or novices in leading the corpse to the cremation grounds a means whereby the deceased can be led to Nibbāṇa.¹¹⁵ While he does not make the point, this symbolism is intensified if those who are holding onto the string are novices ordained to make merit for the deceased.

Sangūan says that the coconut juice used to bathe the face of the corpse at the cemetery signifies the pure spirit of "the Buddha, the arhats, and the pacceka Buddhas who have completely eliminated all impurities" (*kilesa*).¹¹⁶

109. *Op. cit.*, p. 236; p. 235.

110. In Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

112. *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

113. In Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

114. Sangūan, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

115. In Kingshill, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

116. Sangūan, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

There are even more items in Krai's list (he includes a total of 21 metaphors), but the remaining ones are rather obscure (e.g. six girdles on the coffin).

Although the number of metaphoric messages which might be drawn from the actions and implements which are manifest during funerary rites is variable, the basic mode of interpretation by the Phra Khrū, as well as by Krai and Sangūan and certainly by many others who have given sermons at funerals, is the same. These acts and objects point to fundamental Buddhist doctrines: that death and decay, and more basically, impermanence, is inherent in all things; that so long as one is attached, through desire (*taṇhā*), to significant others or to material things, one will be bound to a cycle of rebirth in one of the three states of sentient existence; that one can only break the ties which bind one to these states by following the Eightfold Path taught by the Buddha; that the Path begins by taking refuge in the Three Gems and progresses through moral action to final detachment from all things; that the goal of the Path is Nibbāṇa.

The Buddhist interpretation of funerary rites does not entirely eclipse other meanings which such rites hold for northern Thai, including northern Thai monks. Death also generates real fears which are given substance in the minds of northern Thai as spirits, disembodied souls, and more diffuse pollution. Such fears are most evident in the case of sudden deaths, and particularly in the death of a woman in childbirth, but they are present at most other deaths as well, save perhaps at the death of a revered monk.

In another context I plan to present a fuller analysis of the meanings carried by the acts and ritual apparatus in northern Thai funerals, both with reference to texts on ritual procedure such as has been presented here in the form of the work by Phra Khrū Anusaraṇaśāsanakiarti and with reference to the process of actual rituals observed in particular places in northern Thailand. The point with which I would like to conclude here is that while northern Thai funerary rites may be composed of elements which are of non-Buddhist origin, may vary in form from place to place, and may convey many non-Buddhist meanings, they still have been made to be a fundamental vehicle for asserting ultimate truth as that truth has been formulated in Buddhist terms.

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THE RELIGION AND BELIEFS OF THE BLACK TAI, AND A NOTE ON THE STUDY OF CULTURAL ORIGINS

by

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The Black Tai are a central upland Tai group residing in Sip Song Chao Thai (literally the "Twelve Tai" Cantons) in northwestern Viet Nam. They are found living in large numbers in territory lying between the Black River and the Red River. The nomenclature "Black Tai" ("*Thai Dam*") stems from the distinctive color of their dress, different from that of neighboring Tai groups who include the characteristically white-clad White Tai, and the Red Tai, who embellish the edges of their otherwise black blouses with red.

The Sip Song Chao Thai are known to be an old home of Black Tai and kindred groups prior even to the expansion of Vietnamese power southeast of Annam. The Tai peoples on the western side of Annam possess a long history of self-government up to the ascendancy of western Tai groups. Between the fourteenth and fifteenth century A.D. the Black Tai came under the protection of Luang Prabang.¹ Local government during that time, however, continued to function independently. Beginning with the Thon Buri and continuing through the Bangkok period, Siam gained power over the Kingdom of Lan Chang² and with it the Sip Song Chao Thai. In as much as Siam did not intervene in local government, the Black Tai remained under the mild suzerainty of Luang Prabang.³

The Sip Song Chao Thai were adjacent to Annam and, when Vietnamese territorial ambitions spread to include them, its inhabitants were obliged to send tribute to Viet Nam in order to maintain amicable relations. Luang Prabang was no exception to this. When Viet Nam fell to France, the Twelve Tai Cantons were included as a part of the Vietnamese colony. The French rationalization for this was that the Cantons had originally sent tribute to Viet Nam, hence France reckoned them as dependencies. This maneuver cost Siam the Twelve Tai Cantons and all six of the adjacent Hua Phan Districts in 1888.⁴

The Sip Song Chao Thai were composed of twelve *muang* or loosely federated states. Each *muang* comprised a principality ruled by the *tao*, or Black Tai nobility. In the traditional political system the *chao muang* (chief of the *muang*) held hereditary title to the land, with ownership passing from father to eldest son. Similarly the *chao muang* position itself was hereditary. In the event the eldest son was judged unworthy, another was chosen to ensure the continuation of the line. The Lo and Cam families furnished most *chao muang*. Although the French, following annexation of the Cantons, altered the land tenure system by granting title to individual

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1. Prince Damrong, *Chronicle Collection: Parts 7-11*, National Library Edition, vol. 4 (Bangkok: Progress Publication, 1964), p. 7.

2. D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-east Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1970), 3rd ed., p. 462.

3. Prince Damrong, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

4. D.G.E. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 686.

cultivators, they left intact the hereditary monopoly of the Lo and Cam families over the position of *chao muang*.⁵ Unchecked in their internal authority, the autonomous *chao muang* served as barriers to the formation of any more coherent organization for collective action in the Tai highlands of northwestern Viet Nam. On the other hand, they also constituted obstacles to the external domination of the Tai country.⁶ Today the *chao muang* persist in their traditional religious roles and continue to govern their *muang* according to Black Tai customs. The daily way of life of the people has consequently changed very little.

Until the Viet Minh drove the French out of northern Viet Nam, following the battle of Dien Bien Phu (1953), the Twelve Tai Cantons were under French colonial rule. The agreement dividing Viet Nam in two at the seventeenth parallel placed the Twelve Tai Cantons, as a part of the North, under Viet Minh jurisdiction. Because some Tai groups helped the Viet Minh against the French, the Viet Minh promised the Tai a measure of home rule. Other Tai groups, however, having sided with the French, had to evacuate and find refuge in South Viet Nam and Laos, which remained under French rule for some time after.

This writer received an invitation to join the Ethnic Minority Research Project of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor, Laos, in 1973. He took this opportunity to conduct a preliminary study of the Black Tai displaced by the current Indochinese war in Laos. Most of the Black Tai in Laos were at that time settled in hamlets around Vientiane; the remainder were scattered throughout different districts of Laos. Data concerning religion and beliefs of the Black Tai were taken from interviews with Black Tai religious practitioners (*mod* and *mo*) and many other knowledgeable refugees in Laos, as well as from local manuscripts and reports from other researchers.

Belief in spirits

Religious beliefs of Black Tai are mainly centered on *phi* (spirits), *khwan* (life essences) and cosmology. Man is felt to be under the power of many spirits, both malevolent and beneficent. They are ranked in order of importance as follows.

(a) *Spirits of the Sky* (*taen* or *phi fa*) are gods or angels who live in heaven (the sky). In their omnipotence the *taen* control events both good and bad that befall all creatures living on earth. Man must conform his behavior to the wishes of the *taen* in order to be deserving of his mercy and to enjoy a happy life; to displease the *taen* is to invite misfortune. Tai life is thus totally circumscribed by the wishes of *taen*. A partial listing of the *taen* pantheon includes the following individuals, each with his individual duties and power.

Taen Luang is chief *taen* and overseer to all other *taen*. As supreme judge in controversies affecting the *taen*, he sees that justice is done all around.

5. Frank M. Lebar *et al.*, *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1964), p. 222.

6. John T. McAlister, "Mountain minorities and the Viet Minh: a key to the Indochina war", in Peter Kunstadter, ed., *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), vol. 2, p. 781.

7. William J. Gedney, "White, Black and Red Tai", *The Social Science Review*, Special Number, 1-24, 1964.

Taen Pua Ka La Vi is responsible for men's prosperity or lack thereof. He regulates the sky, weather and seasonal rainfall.

Taen Chad is responsible for sending men to be born on earth, and for determining their fate.

Taen Naen is responsible for giving the *khwan* and controlling the lifespan of men.

Taen Boon is responsible for giving wealth and prosperity to men.

Taen Kor is responsible for health, particularly children's health.

Taen Sing are the patron of the Black Tai lineage and ensure good fortune for every member.

Taen Sad is responsible for regulating men's conduct: catching wrongdoers, meting out punishment, and protecting good men from evil.

Taen Hung Khao is responsible for light, and making people beautiful.

(b) *Spirits of the Village and Muang (phi ban and phi muang)*. Every village and *muang* has some kind of spirit(s) which protects the village or the *muang* and ensures peace and prosperity. The *phi ban* or spirit of the village has a small house in which to live. Usually the *phi muang* is a royal spirit (*phi chao*) which might dwell in the forest, a hill or a tree. Some *muang* keep a shrine for them to live in the area of the *lak muang* ("city pillar"), which is regarded as a taboo area. This area is only used for the religious rite called Sen Muang. A feast must be given to both *phi ban* and *phi muang* every year. If there is a disaster or inauspicious event then another feast must be offered.

(c) *Ancestor Spirits*. When a parent or the male heir dies, a part of his *khwan* and *phi* is invited to live in the house of the eldest surviving son. A special altar called *hong hong* is constructed. The Ancestor Spirit receives a feast and ceremony at least once every year, although well-to-do families might have more frequent commemorations. If members of the family do not conduct a ceremony and a feast for the spirit, it is believed that the spirit causes bad health to afflict the family. These ceremonies and feasts, if performed often, bring good fortune to the family.

(d) *Spirit of the Forest, Spirit of the Soil, and Others*. Spirits also dwell in the forest, soil, hills, rivers and the other natural elements. If one of them is displeased it brings misfortune. When there is a sudden sickness in the family, a member of the family must invite a *mod* or sorcerer to come over and determine what kind of spirit brought sickness to the family. The spirit then receives the feast or offering that the *mod* thinks is proper to alleviate the misfortune.

Belief in *khwan*

Black Tai believe that the *taen* create men to be born on earth. *Taen Naen* is responsible for supervising the creation and giving *khwan* to individuals. He sees to it that the shaping of human form is in accordance with the form of the Black Tai male and female archetypes,

Pu Chang Lo Po Chang Ti and Mae Bao Mae Naen. When the bodies are finished they are handed over to Taen Chad who determines their lifespan and dispatches them to earth.

The human body is composed of 32 *khwan* found in 32 important organs of the body. These *khwan* are invisible but they endow bodies with the infinite qualities of life. During normal times these *khwan* remain in man; and only if all the *khwan* are present in one's body does one feel normal and enjoy good health. If something upsets one of the *khwan* then the owner feels sick or unhappy. The *khwan* are very sensitive beings and may readily depart from one's body, especially if one becomes frightened or sick. As a result Black Tai, when sick, perform a ceremony to recall the owner's missing *khwan*.

When a person dies all *khwan* will depart from the body in groups for different destinations. *Khwan* of the body (*khwan kok* or *khwan ton*), for example, will return to Muang Fa (heaven), while *khwan* of the head (*khwan hua*) will return to the place prepared for the *khwan* of ancestors by his children. When there is no son, the *khwan* will go to a small shrine (*tup*) of the daughter erected near her house, but is forbidden, however, to enter the son-in-law's house. The *khwan plai* or shadow go to Lam Loi, as explained in the section below on Black Tai cosmology.

Those *khwan* that leave the body must be sent to different places by *mo*, *mod* or *koi kok* (the eldest son-in-law). When a person dies his eldest son-in-law, who has already left the house, will be the person to deliver the deceased's *khwan* to destinations in Muang Fa appropriate to his position in life. According to the Black Tai belief the final dwelling place of a *khwan* in Muang Fa is related to its owner's original standing in the world. Those of high standing in the society, such as chiefs and noble men, are sent to Luen Phan, a heaven-like place for Black Tai. Lam Loi is a less exalted destination in Muang Fa than Luen Phan; and it is thus where the *khwan* of common people are destined to go.

Religious practitioners

Black Tai employ *mo* (priests) and *mod* (sorcerers) as their religious practitioners. *Mo* are considered educated and knowledgeable in the rules and customs of their people. They serve as advisors, and perform sacred ceremonies. When there is a misfortune affecting the people or the *muang*, the *mo* will be called upon for advice by the *chao muang*. He will base his advice on chronicle and records of their *muang*. Prerequisite to becoming a *mo* is membership in the Loung family. Monastic candidates must learn about astrology, and customs of the Black Tai, as well as detailed ceremonial praxis. Historically these positions and attendant discipline were transmitted down from father to son within the Loung family. The phrase "*Loung hed mo Lo hed tao*" means that the Loung family functions as priest while the Lo family acts as the Lords or chiefs of the cantons. Later people from other families such as Ka and Koung who were interested in learning those arcanae were accepted as priests. Today 'mo-hood' is no longer the exclusive province of the Loung family.

The *chao muang* usually designates a wise, educated priest to be head priest, *ong mo*, in the *muang*. All important books and records of the country are kept by the *ong mo*. He also serves as final interpreter of rules and customs of the country. Two helpers assist the *ong mo*

in all capacities such as the Sen Muang ceremony: *ong chang* and *ong ngae*.

Sen Muang is one of the most important of these ceremonies, believed by the Black Tai to ensure peace, stability, prosperity, and freedom from disease and other misfortunes. Because of its significance the ceremony must be carried out with grandeur in keeping with high station of the *taen* and the *muang* spirits it honors. The *ong mo* and his aides divide the work of preparing the feast. When the *ong mo* finally sets up the date and time for the feast the *chao muang* gives the *ong mo* all responsibility. Normally the *ong mo* permits *ong chang* to prepare ceremonial objects to be used, while the *ong ngae* supervises the cooking, butchering, drinks and sweets. When every thing is in order, the *ong mo* initiates the ceremony by bringing over the important scriptures of the *muang*, called "Pub Soe Mo" ("Book of Priests") to be read. Sometimes the *ong chang* or the *ong ngae* are asked to read. Then the *taen* and the spirits of the *muang* are invited to come down and take part in the feast. The invitation is first sent to the most important *taen*, then on down according to significance and rank of the *taen* and the spirits. Taen Luang is the first to receive the meal, followed by lesser *taen* and spirits. In this ceremony Nang Mod Muang (the female sorcerer of the *muang*) will come to sing and beg the spirits to protect the *muang* and its people from all misfortune and to make its dwellers prosperous and peaceful. When the ceremony is finished the Black Tai will enjoy the feast themselves with food, drink and fun.

When there is sickness Black Tai use local medicine such as herbs and plants as their first treatment. If the condition of the patient does not improve then they believe that it is the work of certain spirits. To cure this a *mod* is employed.

Mod can be of both sexes, but a *mod* must come from the *mod* lineage where his father or relative has been a *mod*. The candidate is first possessed by the *mod* spirit informing him that he is chosen to be a *mod*. After finally deciding himself, the candidate will be trained in astrology, ways of performing ceremonies, curing the sick, and contacting different spirits. These are taught by a senior *mod*.

The *mod lao* (male sorcerer) performs and cures the sick who are in a very critical condition. He is able to do this because he knows all the prayers and possesses sacred objects to be used against the evil spirits. Besides this knowledge, *mod lao* has the power to call *mod* spirits and their subordinates from the *mod* country to come and fight for the lost *khwan* of the patient in the event that the spirit is stubborn and does not want to return the *khwan*. The ceremony of *mod lao* is usually accompanied by trumpet or flute playing throughout. In cures by the *mod lao*, the *mo phi* or flutist is the one who arranges the offerings, called *kai*, which are composed of rice, egg, cotton, clothes of the patient, alcoholic drinks, chicken, betel nut with leaves, fruits, and other food. The *mod lao* proceeds first by accusing the spirit which he believes has caused the illness. Verification follows, by pouring rice grains over an egg. The *mod* predicts whether, if his hypothesis is correct, an even or odd number of rice grains will remain on the egg. If the test initially fails (i.e. refuting his guess), the *mod* selects another spirit and in the same fashion subject his new choice to the rice grain test. If this time the spirit tests positively, the *mod* will seek a repetition of his success. Only a succession of successes at this gives him definite

proof or assurance of which spirit actually caused the illness. After that the *mod* tries to communicate with that spirit by anticipating his wants, asking why he caused the illness, how should the patient ask for pardon, and what sort of food or feast would please the spirit most. When it is known what is desired, the appropriate items are prepared and offered to the spirit. After that the *mod* implores the spirit to return the patient's *khwan*. Whether the spirit does or does not want to return the *khwan* to its owner is ascertained once more by guess. If the spirit is still unresponsive the *mod lao* calls the *mod* spirits and their subjects, e.g. elephant, horse and swan, to come and compel the recalcitrant spirit to release the *khwan*. Different kinds of magic are used to force that spirit until he gives up. When the struggle is won, the *mod* invites the *khwan* to return, bathes it, and bids it to dwell in the patient's body. In some ceremonies such as Sen Muang, the *mod lao* usually uses a very frightening method, such as sacrificing a live sheep by sword.

The *mod ying* (female sorcerer) are usually invited to come and cure patients who are not critically ill. *Mod ying* usually cure by merely entreating the spirit and giving a feast. Generally they do not have the power to force the spirit. There is no playing of trumpet or flute when *mod ying* perform.

Only if the illness is caused by *taen*, is the begging ceremony, asking sympathy from *taen*, performed. It is forbidden to compel *taen* because the Black Tai believe that the *taen* have power over the *mod*. Therefore most Black Tai prefer *mod ying* in ceremonies pertaining to *taen* such as Sen Muang and the ceremony for prolonging life. In cases when the female *mod* is able to practise magic, she may be able to perform the work of the male *mod*. A *mod ying* who can chant beautifully is usually chosen as Nang Mod Muang for the Sen Muang ceremony.

Black Tai cosmology

"Khwam Toe Muang" ("History of the Muang") relates that in the beginning Earth ("Din") and Heaven ("Muang Fa") were joined by a mushroom-shaped structure, the bottom part of which was Earth, the top Heaven. The top was for *taen*, the bottom for mankind. The two were so close originally that many conflicts broke out between men and *taen*. This caused inconvenience to man's ancestor, Pu Chao, who cut the connection between Earth and Heaven so that the sky floated far above Earth, almost out of sight.

Animals at this time were able to talk. This caused noise that could be heard even in Heaven. Angered, *taen* dispatched a drought to kill both men and animals. Concerned about the drought, Pu Chao performed a ceremony asking for rain. With such abundance was his request granted that a great deluge ensued, taking many lives. Saddened, a sympathetic *taen* placed men, animals and all their belongings on the great floating pumpkins, or bottle-gourds, so that they would not perish in the flood. After the floodwaters had receded *taen* let Tao Soung and Tao Ngern again return to Earth. Tao Soung and Tao Ngern then took wives, becoming the progenitors of mankind. Further stories relating the migrations of men spanning time from antiquity to present fill out the historical manuscript.

When a person dies Black Tai gather and read the "Khwam Toe Muang" as a way to direct

the *khwan* of the dead back to their ancestors and Heaven according to prescription. If this is not done the *khwan* might lose their way. "Khwan Toe Muang" is, therefore, very important in the study of the history and concepts of the Black Tai world. It used to be transmitted orally from generation to generation from ancient times, and was recorded in the Black Tai script several centuries ago.

The original place where Heaven and Earth were connected is believed by Black Tai to be the region of the Tat Pi Fai Waterfall in Muang La (or Son La) of the Twelve Tai Cantons. While this waterfall is a jumping-off place for human *khwan* on their heavenward journey, it is the point of termination for those of animals, for they are unable to accompany their human owners aloft.

Directly above man's territory, the *khwan* of the deceased comes to the territory of the *mod*, a dwelling place for those who are well versed in magic. Like that of men, the *mod* country is wide and abundant with food. Lam Juong Klang comes next, a dwelling place for the *khwan* of common people and a meeting place of *khwan plai* or shadow. Here the *khwan* of the people have a place to stay, work and eat just as in the city of man. Next one reaches the bank of Ta Kai River, a frontier to yet a further level of Muang Fa where one meets a frontiersman named One Kuon Fan Long. For the fare of one duck plus two *bi* (unit of money) the boat man Nai Lo provides ferry service. Those with special power (such as the *mod*) cross this serpent-infested river by magical means. Arrival on the farther bank brings one to a cool and fertile place characterized by mulberry plots. Young people who die come here because there is a big park for amusement; the *khwan* of young people like to play games such as spindle toy, *saba*, and cock fighting. Kuang Lin is an area for playing games. Nearby is a place for those who died by accident such as drowning, falling from a tree or being bitten by wild animals. This area is called Muang Phi Wai. After this territory one reaches Lam Loi, the highest level for the *khwan* of ordinary people. The living conditions here are similar to those on earth: houses and fields are to be found and those who live here must earn their living and build their own houses. There is even a well called Bo Nam Kin Yen for *khwan* to quench their thirst. High mountains called Phukao Kum Kao Ngo Muang Fa surround this area, and lying behind these mountains is a crossroads called Sam Sip Kae. From this departure point there are many ways to proceed to the dwelling place of *taen* and *khwan* of the aristocracy and royalty.

The houses of Taen Luang, Taen Chad, Taen Ker, Taen Sing and other *taen* are located on the left side of the Sam Sip Kae crossroads. On the right side is the Taen Naen's factory for making human forms. Lying straight ahead is a place for the *khwan* of high-ranking people who are usually from the Lo and Cam families. Great chiefs live in an area called Luen Phan Loung, while minor chiefs and aristocracy live at Luen Phan Noi. Those who live at Luen Phan do not have to work hard; mere wishing secures them all that they require. Between Sam Sip Kae and Luen Phan and other points along the way of Muang Fa are many strange lands: near the Sam Sip Kae intersection mentally ill and other abnormal spirits of the sky live in a place called Nang Bid Nang Buen. Beyond this there is a river, called Nam Kieng, and a boat where *khwan* must pass to go to Luen Phan. The riverbank is wide and edged by a deep forest of mango and other trees. Some trees are so big that their leaves shade three mountains. The

cemetery of the Spirits of the Sky, called Pa Hei Muang Fa, is in this forest. Near the forest is the arid and barren land of Muang Kora which cannot be utilized for cultivation. In this area there is a city for young men and women who died before being married and had to leave their lovers behind on earth; in Muang Kora a sad and gloomy atmosphere pervades. A magnificent forest full of gold and silver trees is next reached. Prosperity is everywhere; overhead fly gold and silver birds picking various kinds of fruits from the trees. Next to the area of the silver and gold forest is Muang Taen, the community of the *taen*, which is the highest level in the universe of Black Tai.

From the foregoing cosmological outline we observe that the Black Tai accounts contain no depiction of hell or purgatory. No matter whether the doer's action is good or bad his *khwan* is destined to some level of Muang Fa; there is no going to hell for prolonged suffering. The writer thus infers that a concept of hell or damnation is not among the original Tai beliefs. Later some Tai groups might have picked up this from Indian religions or other cultural influences.

In conclusion: what characteristics reveal about cultural origins

The religion of the Black Tai is one of animism, stressing the worship of *phi* and *khwan*. These beliefs in *phi fa* or *taen* and *khwan* prevail in all Tai groups. Such Tai groups as the Siamese (central Thailand), Tai Yuan, Tai Lue, Tai Lao, Tai Phuan, and Shan have had contact with other cultures for a long time. These groups have adopted some of the religious beliefs of India and mixed them with their own original beliefs. Some Tai groups have already lost most of their animistic beliefs. For example, the Tai Phuan of Ban Chiang of northeastern Thailand, who migrated from Chiang Khwang in northern Laos in the early eighteenth century, today practise Theravada Buddhism. This group still practises the *khwan* ceremony but the belief in and understanding of *taen* has almost completely lost its significance. *Taen* or *phi fa* are known vaguely to the Tai Phuan as angels or gods who live in the sky and have authority over men and the weather. But the people of Ban Chiang are ignorant of the original concept of the Black Tai universe and of the intricate classification of duties and authority appropriate to the different *taen*. Like many other Tai groups in northeastern Thailand, the people of Ban Chiang have been influenced less by Hinduism than by Buddhism. They know only vaguely about Hindu gods. Their life in a rural area prevents them from performing elaborate Brahmin ceremonies which mainly devolve around the royal court. However, they accept the Brahmin-like priest as a virtuous person similar to the Buddhist monk. In some places, people prefer to have the person who performs important ceremonies dressed in white like a Brahmin priest. The Siamese of central Thailand also have some knowledge of *khwan* ceremonies but the detail has been largely lost or combined with Brahmin elements; and the ceremonies have declined to some extent because the people have embraced Buddhism and hold important ceremonies according to Brahmin ritual. Nevertheless the Siamese have often heard and still use certain phrases which reflect their old beliefs about *khwan* such as *khwan ta* (*khwan* of the eye), *khwan jai* (*khwan* of the heart), *khwan hai* (lost *khwan*), and *khwan ni di fo* (*khwan* leaves one's body when he is frightened); but they do not know these concepts in much detail. Today it is very hard to find anybody in Bangkok who knows the significance of the word "*taen*".

When considering the religious beliefs of Black Tai, we observe that the characteristics of *taen* differ from those of Hindu gods or *deva*, important deities such as Brahma, Siva, Narai, among others. Moreover, the cosmology or concepts of the universe of Black Tai are quite different from those of Hinduism and Buddhism. Therefore, the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism is not reflected in the religious beliefs of Black Tai as it is in some other Tai groups. The influence of ancient Indian languages, such as Pali and Sanskrit, is absent from Black Tai speech.⁷ In contrast, in the national language of Thailand (and, to a lesser extent, of Laos), Khmer, Pali and Sanskrit derivatives are found in abundance while many words that come from ancient Tai language have disappeared.

Not only do religious beliefs of Black Tai deviate from those of India, they fail also to coincide with Chinese religion. The general character of Black Tai religion and cosmology is not the same as that of the Chinese. There is, however, some similarity in respecting and worshipping Ancestor Spirits. Ancestor worship cults, however, are not uncommon to tribal people and certainly not unique to the Chinese. Such similarities might show reciprocal influence and then, again, might be purely coincidental. The culture of the Black Tai, particularly language, literature and government, does not reflect nearly as much Chinese influence as we can easily detect in such other ethnic southeast Asian groups such as the Vietnamese, Miao and Yao.

Because of the reasoning outlined above, we can surmise that the religious beliefs of Black Tai are relatively free from the Indian and Chinese influences which have spread throughout southeast Asia over a span of 2,000 years. This fact is contradictory to the ideas of some scholars concerning diffusion of Indian and Chinese cultures. Many people believe that the patterns of culture in southeast Asia are essentially combinations of those of the Chinese and Indians, or have cultural bases drawn from China and India. It is obvious that certain ethnic groups in this region have adopted some cultural traits of Chinese or Indian origin and mixed them with their own for so long a time that it is very difficult to differentiate the foreign traits from the indigenous ones. Yet there are several ethnic groups who still maintain much of their unique cultural identities.

The study of the religious beliefs of Black Tai thus helps us to define a new way to approach the cultures of southeast Asia. Each group should be treated individually, and previous generalizations pertaining to the diffusion of Indian and Chinese cultures questioned. These generalizations were made on the basis of limited ethnographic evidence. The data on the Black Tai give us some insight into the system of religious beliefs of ancient Tai civilizations prior to the adoption of Buddhist and Brahministic teachings, such as the very obscure pre-Sukhothai culture before the thirteenth century A.D. We have increasing evidence from Sukhothai and post-Sukhothai times when some Tai groups started to accept and integrate both Khmer and Indian influences into their existing cultures. In the long intervening period up to the present

many changes have taken place, and it is now difficult to identify what are original Tai cultural patterns, and what was the nature of the old Tai social system. If scholars direct more attention to the study of now-veiled aspects of ancient Tai groups, especially the non-Buddhist Tai, they can help in promoting understanding of the origins and past conditions of Tai culture and society. This would be of great benefit to the study of the history, anthropology, and language of the Tai, and permit a clearer understanding of the ongoing cultural evolution of these peoples.

AN EARLY KHMER SCULPTURE FROM SOUTHERN LAOS

by

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An early Khmer stone sculpture, here referred to as the Champassak statue (figs. 1-3), was discovered over 60 years ago; but it was little known and hence was not mentioned in the standard works on Khmer sculptures. In 1972 it was published in locally produced volumes, and illustrated in the French journal *L'oeil*.¹ In view of its artistic excellence it merits a detailed analysis, which may throw light on the earliest period of Khmer art.

The statue was found by the villagers of Ban Muang on the east bank of the Mekong River opposite Ban P'apin, which is four kilometres north of Champassak, and was given to *Chao* Ratsdanay Nhouy, the titular ruler of the province of Champassak. After his death, it came into the possession of his son and successor, *Chao* Boun Oum.

The statue is stylistically related to the earliest group of statues found in southeastern Kampuchea on the Phnom Da Hill near Angkor Borei, from which derived the art historical term, the Phnom Da style.²

The Phnom Da style is divided into two phases: phase A and phase B. To phase A are assigned most of the sculptures found at Angkor Borei and at Phnom Da. These are believed to have been made during the reign of Rudravarman of Funan (A.D. 514- c. 539). To phase B, which is the stylistic continuation of the previous phase, are assigned the statues found elsewhere in southern Kampuchea and which are dated to the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

The Champassak statue is exceptional, for while it is stylistically related to the sculptures in the Phnom Da style A, it was not found in southern Kampuchea but in southern Laos. It is thus the only major work of art of the period to have been found so far north. It adds a little flesh to the skeleton of history of the region around Champassak, whose testimony consists mostly of dynastic chronicles and a few inscriptions.

The early history of the region is still dimly known. However, an inscription found near Wat Phu and dated paleographically to the second half of the fifth century A.D. reveals that Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmāñ Śrīdevānika came from far away to set up a *liṅga*, which had been worshipped since antiquity, on the mountain of Wat Phu.³ Coedès, who trans-

* The writer wishes to thank *Chao* Boun Oum na Champassak for information concerning the statue, and Dr. Charles Archaimbault for his reading of the manuscript and for his valuable comments.

1. Published in Pierre Lintings, *Les rois de Champassak* (Pakse, 1972), fig. 10; also reproduced on the back cover of *Bulletin des amis du Royaume Lao*, No. 7-8 (1972). Photograph published in Doan na Champassak, "Un ensemble khmer inconnu: Vat Phu", *L'oeil*, Nos. 212-213 (août-septembre, 1972), pl. 2.

2. P. Dupont, *La statuaire pré-angkorienne* (Ascona, 1955), chaps. II and III.

3. G. Coedès, "Nouvelles données sur les origines du Royaume Khmer: la stèle de Vat Luong Kau près de Vat Phu", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient*, 48 (1956), pp. 209-220.

lated this inscription, seems to have been confused on the matter. He postulated that Devānīka could have been the same as the Cham king known in Chinese transliteration as Fan Chen-ch'eng who sent embassies to China in A.D. 456, 458 and 472. He therefore thought that Champassak had come under the suzerainty of Champa. Yet it was not Devānīka who installed the cult of Bhadreśvara, the national cult of Champa, on the mountain of Wat Phu, but Khmer conquerors of the Chams, Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman, in order to commemorate their victory over them.

According to the Khmer dynastic chronicles preserved in the inscription of Baksei Chamkrong of A.D. 948, the first kings of Kampuchea were Śrutavarman and his son Śreṣṭhavarman, after whom the city of Śreṣṭhapura was named.⁴ These kings broke the chain of tribute from an unspecified country and gained independence for the Khmers. Śreṣṭhapura remains the name of a district near Champassak; recent excavations have placed the city between the mountain of Wat Phu and the Mekong River.⁵ Thus, from Khmer dynastic record, it appears that the earliest city founded by the Khmers was Śreṣṭhapura, but the date of its founding remains unknown.

There is no certainty that Devānīka of the inscription was a Cham king. He could have come from the region of the Khorat Plateau in the west as easily as from Champa in the east. Moreover, the practice of setting up *liṅga* on the top of the mountain was not unique to the Bhadreśvara cult of Champa, but was a general practice in relation to the worship of Śiva.⁶ The inscription of Devānīka simply testifies to the existence of a Śaiva cult at Wat Phu in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

Although the rulers worshipped Śiva in the form of a *liṅga*, the phallic emblem of the god, they were thought to be terrestrial representations of the god Viṣṇu, or as one of his *avatāra*. For the god in his various *avatāra* (descents) helped mankind against the forces of evil and, as the supreme ruler and protector of the universe, Viṣṇu was analogous to a king who was the protector of the people. Thus Viṣṇuism flourished in symbiotic relationship with the monarchy and received support from the courts.

Since the Champassak statue is a stone sculpture in the round, it is unlikely to have been a part of architectural decoration. It can be assumed to have been made as an object of worship. Through comparison with the statues in the Phnom Da A group, it can be inferred that it probably represents an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Also inscriptions from the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. attest to the popularity of the god in southern Kampuchea.⁷

Because of its broken arms, there is no way of knowing which *avatāra* of Viṣṇu the Champassak statue represents. Each *avatāra* can only be identified by the objects carried by

4. G. Coedès, "Inscription de Baksei Čamkrōn", *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, IV (Paris, 1952), pp. 88-101; see also Dupont, pp. 72-74.

5. Excavation conducted by Georges Pfeiffer of the Ministry of Culture, Laos, December 1971-January 1972.

6. H. Kulke, "The Devarāja cult, a reassessment of the evidence", *Proceedings: Seventh IAHA Conference* 2 vols. (Bangkok, 1979), vol. II, pp. 1371-1384.

7. Dupont, p. 15.



Figure 1.



Figure 2.



Figure 3.

the god in his hands. The one other clue, that is the hair tied up in a knot on top of the head which is a characteristic of Balarāma, Kṛiṣṇa's elder brother,⁸ is not much of a help; because hair, or wigs, arranged in overlapping ringlets with a single topknot, were worn by men of fashion all over the 'Indianized' world around the year A.D. 500.⁹

The emphasis on the navel, here marked by a triangular groove, may also be a sign of Vaiṣṇava inspiration. Out of Viṣṇu's navel Brahma the creator was born, and hence the god's navel is considered to be the centre of the universe, the source of all existence.¹⁰

Broadly speaking, the Champassak statue can be classified as belonging to the earliest group of southeast Asian sculptures influenced by the Indian Gupta style, among which are the statues in the Phnom Da A group. However, on close analysis there are many points of dissimilarity between them. Closest stylistically to the Champassak statue among those in the Phnom Da group are the figures of Paraśurāma, the sixth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu; Rāma, the seventh *avatāra*; and Balarāma, the brother of Kṛiṣṇa, the eighth *avatāra*.¹¹ These are stylistically homogeneous; they all have a stocky physique and supple modelling. The faces are avoid in shape and the hair, arranged in ringlets with a topknot, is worn close to the head, while the ears are shown in their entirety. They all stand with a slight *tribhaṅga*. Their loincloth is tucked in front below the navel, forming a notch.

The Champassak statue, by comparison, is assertive in its stance and uncompromising in its frontality. It has a square face with cleft chin, and the features are clearly defined. The hair, or wig, is worn covering the upper part of the ears, exposing the ear lobes. The loincloth is folded in front, forming a vertical panel, and is tucked in below the navel. The notch is indicated by incisions; similarly with the pleats, each on one side of the central fold. With its taunt muscularity, it contrasts sharply with the rounded, swelling contours of the statues in the Phnom Da A group. While the latter embody the ripened fullness of maturity, the Champassak statue exudes the budding vitality of youth.

There can be no doubt that the type of hairstyle arranged in overlapping ringlets and worn covering the upper part of the ears is closer to the Indian prototype than is the type worn by the statues in the Phnom Da A group. The ear lobes also are depicted more naturalistically than those of the latter, since the holes are rendered as if they had been enlarged through the habitual wearing of circular ear-disks. The modelling of the compact body, moreover, appears to have been based on natural observation rather than on the idealized elegance of the Phnom Da A group. As the latter is dated to the first half of the sixth century A.D.¹², it is not unreasonable to assign the Champassak statue to around the year A.D. 500.

8. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 vols. (Madras, 1914-16), vol. I, p. 201.

9. For comparison, see H. Zimmer, *The Arts of Indian Asia*, 2 vols. (New York, 1955), vol. 2, pl. 177, for the hairstyle worn by an attendant in Ajanta Cave No. 17.

10. J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism* (Delhi, 1969), pp. 84-89.

11. Illustrated in Dupont, pls. I b, VI b, and V b, respectively.

12. Although J. Boisselier has in his Paris lectures shifted the Phnom Da style from the sixth to the eighth century A.D., this writer prefers the earlier chronology as proposed by Dupont. For Boisselier's dating, see H.W. Woodward, "History of art: accomplishments and opportunities, hopes and fears", *The Study of Thailand: Analysis of Knowledge, Approaches, and Prospects in Anthropology, Art History, Economics, History and Political Science*, ed. Eliezer B. Ayal (Athens, Ohio, 1978), p. 82, no. 9.

The discovery of the statue in the vicinity of the ancient city of Śreṣṭhapura substantiates the hypothesis that the city was founded in the second half of the fifth century A.D. Hence, it can be assumed that by the end of that century the Khmer people had established themselves in the Champassak region with a capital at Śreṣṭhapura, and had developed an art form paralleling that of the Phnom Da A group at Funan.

RECENT DVĀRĀVATĪ DISCOVERIES AND SOME KHMER COMPARISONS

by

H. G. QUARITCH WALES*

My primary purpose is to discuss some of the Dvāravatī art objects that have come to light since I published my book entitled *Dvāravatī* ten years ago;¹ also to give my impressions of the more recently discovered Dvāravatī sites that I had the opportunity to visit during January and February 1978. Those are In Buri Kao, Sab Champā and Kantharavisai. In addition I shall say something about the new Dvāravatī finds at the long-known sites of Dong Śī Mahā Phot and Śī Thep, the latter of course being a site that long antedates the Dvāravatī period.

In Buri Kao. Perhaps the most interesting is In Buri Kao, or Khu Müang, largely because a considerable amount of excavation has been undertaken there by the Fine Arts Department. J. Boisselier first drew attention to the site which he visited in 1966. He later published a plan of it together with illustrations of a number of objects.² These were mostly stuccos that were either in private ownership or had reached the little museum established at Wat Bot, In Buri.

Unfortunately this site, like that of Ku Bua, has been known to the public too long to provide the sort of rewards for controlled excavation that were obtained at Müang Bon (Nakhon Sawan Province). There intensive work was undertaken by the Department immediately after my discovery of the site. So it is that, in place of bas-reliefs *in situ*, we have in the In Buri museum a mixed assemblage of stucco fragments and other objects. They probably cover a very considerable time span, but are deprived of archeological context.

From its situation near the Chao Phraya River in Sing Buri Province we might expect that In Buri Kao could well have formed an early step in the expansion of Dvāravatī northwards from U Thong. Indeed Boisselier saw evidence of contact between the two sites in the existence of a large votive tablet in private ownership at In Buri—now unfortunately lost. He noted that fragments of a tablet evidently from the same mould, when it was newer, had been found at U Thong. We now have another apparent connection with U Thong in the shape of two small, headless terracotta figures of a man leading a monkey not previously known from other Dvāravatī sites.

In Buri Kao is nearly square. It measures about 700 metres from east to west, and 800 metres from north to south, with rounded corners. It has a low rampart inside the broad moat from which radiate a number of ancient canals. There are said to be three large *sra* (tanks), one of which, about 75 metres in diameter, I saw when I visited the place. Near this was the habitation site where excavations had brought to light potsherds down to a depth of 7 feet.

* Based on a lecture delivered at the Siam Society in January 1979.

1. *Dvāravatī, the Earliest Kingdom of Siam* (London, 1969).

2. J. Boisselier, "Travaux de la mission archéologique française en Thaïlande", *Arts Asiatiques*, XXV (1972), figs. 58-65.

The sherds I saw displayed on a board at Silpakorn University, according to the depths at which they had been found, were for the most part plain, undecorated pottery throughout. Any changes in colour seemed to be due to different temperatures of firing. There was also a small proportion of cord-marked wares. However the local museum had on display two or three examples of well-preserved Dvāravatī-type pots.

Many *stūpa* mounds are said to exist outside the enclosure. One on the north side I noticed had been destroyed by a recently dug canal. I saw two excavated sites, the basements of *stūpa* built of large bricks with plain mouldings, and stairs on each face. At Site 2 (see fig. 1), the three stone statues mentioned below had been found.

Besides the votive tablet and the man and monkey figurines, there are four other objects preserved in the museum at Wat Bot which were undoubtedly made locally and which suggest the town's early foundation. The most impressive is a large *dharmacakra* ("Wheel of the Law") which was found in 1970 (fig. 2). It has the spokes in the round, an early feature, but unfortunately no decoration. Presumably it was abandoned before completion. There is a well-preserved, segmented stucco finial, 18 inches high, and having a terracotta core (fig. 3). It is of the early type, having distinct parasol discs. The archetype of this is the large stone example found at Nakhon Pathom and dated by an inscription as of the sixth century A.D. Finally there are two $\sigma\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$ fragments which may be considered early. One bears a clear representation of the alternate lotus-and-lozenge motif. The other depicts a model building such as is known from U Thong stuccos.³

The large assemblage of stucco fragments displayed in the museum includes many finials or pinnacles, some segmented and with terracotta cores, as well as decorative pieces with vegetal or flower motifs. There are also miniature pillars, animal and human faces, and certainly some of the fragments show good quality of work. But unfortunately a characteristic common to nearly all of them is that of being extremely weathered. So it is usually difficult to distinguish what may have been originally good from what is of poor workmanship.

The abundance and depth of the deposits at the habitation site suggest long occupancy. This would be borne out if I am right in supposing that the decorative fragment illustrated by Boisselier⁴ represents a simplification of the earlier stucco *makara* angle piece found at Ku Bua, and also illustrated by him,⁵ though without hazarding the comparison I am making here.

Among the paraphernalia to be expected from a Dvāravatī site are a number of stone querns and rollers. Said to have been excavated from a depth of about 5 feet at the habitation site, many coloured glass beads are on display, also some earrings, weights and a metal arrow-head.

Equally vague for dating, and stylistically mediocre, are the Buddha images that have been found. A stucco head was seen and illustrated by Boisselier.⁶ In the local museum there is a stucco standing Buddha, about 2 feet 6 inches in height. Both forearms are projected with

3. J. Boisselier, *Nouvelles connaissances archéologiques de la ville d'U Tong* (Bangkok, 1968), fig. 5.

4. *Arts Asiatiques*, XXV (1972), fig. 64.

5. *Ibid.*, fig. 38.

6. *Ibid.*, fig. 63.

hands in the *vitarka mudra* (fig. 4). It was found by local people and, being in semi-relief, probably formed part of the stucco decoration of a *stūpa*. Also in the museum are the three stone figures found during the excavation of Site 2. Two are small, weathered reliefs of the seated Buddha. The third is a better-preserved standing figure, 2 feet 6 inches high (fig. 5). It seems to belong to Dupont's Group C, the type that is inscribed in a narrow rectangle. But the extreme narrowness of the stone here suggests that it was unfinished. In that case, as with the *dharmacakra*, it would point to the existence of a local workshop. The discoveries to date certainly leave many questions unanswered; but I understand that further excavations are in progress, the results of which are awaited with interest.

Sab Champā is a town site situated some 15 kilometres from Chai Badal in the Nam Sak Valley. It is an area that was reclaimed from the jungle a few years ago. The site was in fact discovered by an agricultural officer concerned with land clearance. Potentially it was probably at least as promising as In Buri Kao, for included in its compass were several considerable mounds. But a team from Silpakorn University had but a short time to work there before Sab Champā was irretrievably ruined by the tractors brought in to transform the area into agricultural land. The university explorers were mainly interested in prehistory, and concentrated their attention upon a neolithic burial. However, they made known the existence of several chance finds which indicated the continued occupation of the place through Dvāravatī times.⁷

The ancient town is but a little larger than In Buri Kao, but more oval in shape. Its most striking feature is the formidable fortification consisting of a broad moat with an inner and outer rampart about 5 metres high. The moat cuts deep into the limestone, and is a remarkable achievement whether it was dug by the neolithic people or in the Dvāravatī period when improved iron implements would have been available (fig. 6).

Several superficial finds reported by the University archeologists concern us. One is a terracotta plaque impressed with an *abhiṣeka* of Śrī on one side and a figure of Kuvera on the other.⁸ Rather more remarkable is a terracotta figurine made from double mould. Though the head is intact and there is no monkey, it is very reminiscent of the man leading a monkey statuette from U Thong. This is because of the similarity of the armlets and other ornaments.⁹ Then, outside the enclosure, about 200 metres to the north, was found a fragmentary, octagonal stone pillar with a lotus base, and a Pāli inscription.¹⁰ I refer below to the garlaṅḍ decoration of this pillar.

When I visited Sab Champā there was nothing to be seen of the ancient mounds said formerly to have been visible. But the ground was strewn with Dvāravatī-type sherds, as well as a few cord-marked. A farmer living nearby showed me a fragment of the ankle of a stone Buddha, a bit of a votive tablet depicting the head of a Buddha, and an iron-socketed implement. More interesting were photographs of three objects of the Dvāravatī period in private possession which were subsequently shown to me by a member of the Department. These were a weathered stone Buddha head, a portion of the rim of a *dharmacakra*, and a seated Buddha figure.

7. โบราณคดี (*Archeology*), vol. III pt. 4, pp. 93-101.

8. *Ibid.*, fig. 4.

9. *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

10. *Ibid.*, fig. 5.

The *dharmacakra* fragment is particularly suggestive of early occupation, because of its ornamentation with good lotus-and-lozenge design. There is sufficient indication that the spokes were carved in the round. The stone seated image, carved against a reredos, is small, only 20 centimetres high, so one cannot be sure that it originated locally. It is seated in the special *pariyāṅkāśana* pose, that is to say only the ankles are crossed (fig. 7). This is a feature retained from the Amarāvātī period, the style in general being late Gupta. Exceptionally, for a seated image, both hands are in the *vitarka mudrā*. Dupont thought that such development was never actually achieved in seated images, despite a tendency thereto resulting from the influence of standing images.¹¹

Kantharavisai. An ancient town site in Maha Sarakham Province, Kantharavisai lies about 50 kilometres east of Khon Kaen. The road cuts through the egg-shaped town, which is some 500 metres across. It has a moat 18 metres broad between ramparts 2 or 3 metres high and 6 metres through. In 1972 the Fine Arts Department discovered and excavated a mound inside the enclosure. From fragmentary *sema* (boundary stones) found on the east and north, the remains appear to have been those of an *uposatha* hall. The extant basement of it, built of laterite blocks topped with bricks, measures 37 by 10.5 metres. When I visited the site in January 1978 it was not possible to make out more than the outline of the basement, and to notice that Dvāravatī-type sherds were scattered about. The finds by then had been deposited in the Khon Kaen Museum. There is a single votive tablet depicting the Buddha seated in *vajrāsana* pose, of a type known from not-far-distant Müang Fa Daed. More remarkable are the contents of an earthenware bowl 12.5 centimetres high and 20 centimetres broad at the mouth. It had been found at the northeast corner of the basement. The contents consisted of 66 more or less fragmentary silver plaques, embossed with Buddhist figures. Perhaps they were originally foundation deposits.

The better-preserved pieces are from 4 to 6 inches in height. They include impressed figures of the Buddha, both seated and standing, some *devatā* figures with interesting dress details, and a few figures of *stūpa* and *dharmacakra*. HSH Prince Subhadradis has published the results of his study of these, coming to the conclusion that they date from the late Dvāravatī period, tenth or eleventh century.¹² This is in view of their style and pronounced ethnic features. So I shall here only remark on the *stūpa* and *dharmacakra*, which have a comparative value in connection with what I say later.

Such Buddhist symbols are well known from other sites, e.g. *stūpa* I at Ku Bua;¹³ and one of the gold plaques found in the Thamorat Cave near Śī Thep.¹⁴ What I want to stress is that,

11. P. Dupont, *L'archéologie mène de Dvāravatī* (Paris, 1959), p. 239.

12. M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, "Silver plaques of Dvāravatī period, excavated at Amphur Kantharavichai, Maha Sarakam" (in Thai), *Archeology*, vol. 3 (1974), pp. 302-314, illus.

13. *Guide to the Antiquities found at Ku Bua, Rajburi* (Bangkok, 1961), fig. 11.

14. Illustrated in James H.W. Thompson Collection *Catalogue*, 1962; and Theodore Bowie, ed., *The Sculpture of Thailand* (New York, 1972), fig. 28.

even so late in the Dvāravatī period, the *stūpa* depicted on the silver plaques are readily recognizable as such, even though in some cases the parts are becoming dissociated (fig. 8). Equally so the Wheels are quite orthodox (fig. 9). In characteristically composite Dvāravatī manner, the artists have given the pillar supporting the Wheel an Ionic capital, such as is usually found crowning the spokes of *dharmacakra*. But its use in this way is already found in the Ku Bua tablet mentioned above. It seems to me likely that these silver plaques, though late, are not of local manufacture.

Śī Thep. Accessibility to Śī Thep has changed with the decades. When I revisited it in 1964 it was still in the jungle, and a Landrover was the required mode of conveyance. Now it is within the pale of modernity. Only the last 5 miles, from where one turns off the Petchabun highway, are rather rough. The envisaged thorough excavation of the ancient city is still in the future. But I was happy to see on the occasion of my 1978 visit that the pre-Dvāravatī and post-Dvāravatī architectural remains are still in a good state of preservation. All the historical evidence to which I have long ago drawn attention is still clearly to be seen.¹⁵ What I was interested in on this recent occasion was some evidence that had just come to light on the Dvāravatī period of occupation. The objects in question were being kept, prior to their removal to a national museum, in the new Śī Thep Amphur office that had been built a couple of years before at the junction with the main road.

That there was a Dvāravatī occupation of Śī Thep is already beyond question. This was established both by a few objects already published that have been found in the city, and by the Buddha images carved in the nearby Thamorat Cave.¹⁶ Striking further confirmation had become available by 1978: indeed one could hardly desire more weighty evidence than the over-5-foot-wide stone *dharmacakra* (in part locally restored) that lay in front of the Amphur office (fig. 10). Its decoration is of early type, with lotus-and-lozenge motifs well delineated. Though the spokes are not in the round it could hardly date from later than the eighth century. In the storeroom at the back of the office I saw the fragment of a smaller Wheel: it had three spokes remaining, not in the round, and all decoration had flaked off. There were also two large stone feet and, more important, the upper part of a stone pillar. This was decorated with garlands about which I say more below.

I was also shown photographs of several stuccos. Besides a monster head and a *kinnara*, there were examples of vegetal decoration. Certainly they indicate the existence of *stūpa* remains in or near Śī Thep, at one time lavishly embellished with stuccos. But as to the state in which one might find them now it is difficult to be optimistic.

15. H.G. Quaritch Wales, "The exploration of Śrī Deva", *Indian Art and Letters*, X (1936).

16. H.G. Quaritch Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

The most regrettable examples of what may happen where sites covered by only shallow deposits have long been exposed to traditional agriculture are provided by the Dvāravatī towns in the Prachin valley. This is particularly so at Dong Śī Mahā Phot, where the Fine Arts Department has carried out quite extensive excavations since 1967. Unfortunately the comparative wealth of chance finds, many of them reaching the Bangkok National Museum, which were made over the years, has been paralleled in the excavations by the extreme paucity of the objects found *in situ*. Time and again the official report, published in 1970,¹⁷ ends its description of an excavation with the remark that, aside possibly from an image base and some potsherds, "no antiquities were found". Exceptions must be made for the charming *devatā* relief from Site 16, and also the important Khmer bronze hoard found at Site 11.

On the other hand the report does provide measurements of six bare laterite *vihāra* basements, and a total of three small *stūpa*. The latter have already been stripped of any laterite and of any stucco decoration they may once have had. Rather more informative, because we have nothing like them from other Dvāravatī sites, is the uncovering of the plinth and lower course of two laterite Hindu sanctuary towers. A third one, discovered and excavated at Ban Kok Kwang, some 14 kilometres east of the town, has the distinction of providing a truly gigantic image base. Important chance finds are still occasionally made. These include the huge Gaṇeśa found in fragments in the centre of the town in 1970. The excavation of another sanctuary mound in 1976 (Site 25) yielded an almost complete Viṣṇu.¹⁸

I believe it is necessary to express caution as to the dating of these long-robed Viṣṇu found in the area. Those found in the Malay Peninsula are considered to date from the sixth and seventh centuries. But to apply such dating to similar ones found in the Prachin valley might be to repeat the same mistake that was made in the early days when it was thought that all Dvāravatī Buddhas were of such dating. I even doubt that the Prachin valley was occupied by Dvāravatī before the end of the seventh century. Hindu sculptures of this type, surviving where they were far removed from the Śrīvijayan orbit, undoubtedly continued to be made for a considerable time. They finally ended with degenerate ninth or tenth-century Viṣṇu figures that were formerly to be seen in the U Thong and Suphan town spirit shrines.

17. Banchop Thiemthat and Nikhon Musikakhama, *Archeology of Prachin Buri*, in Thai (Bangkok, 1970) On page 36 there is an illustration of the gold meditating Buddha, in *vajrāsana* pose. This Dvāravatī image was found in 1856 at Site 3, and is kept in the Grand Palace. It became famous as the Nirantaraya "invulnerable" image and was customarily set up in the rites hall on the occasion of royal tonsures (cf. G.E. Gerini, *Chulakanta-maṅgala*, Bangkok, 1895, p. 113). On page 38 we are informed that the Buddha on the Nāga illustrated in *Dvāravatī*, pl. 55a, probably came from the *vihāra*, Site 5. A recently found standing image of the Buddha of Dupont's Group C, height 1.60 metres, placed in front of the Khok Pip Amphur office, provides a frontispiece to the report.

18. *Silpākon*, 21 pt. 2, B.E. 2520/A.D. 1977.

In the light of the recent finds I propose to give further consideration to the nature of the change which Dvāravatī art underwent after it was formed about the late sixth century. We have long been aware that, as with other heavily Indianized arts, there was no desire for originality.¹⁹ However, a limited sort of originality did occur when motifs were rearranged, perhaps unconsciously; or where there was some holdover of an earlier Indian style into a later period. The actual evolution of motifs had already taken place in India, where indeed further evolution would take place in later centuries. The Mōns of Dvāravatī wanted to maintain closely what they had learnt from India and Ceylon; but with the waning of Indian influences a long period of decline and simplification inevitably set in. This process was clearly demonstrated by Pierre Dupont in the succeeding refacings of monuments at Nakhon Pathom, also in the various series of Buddhist images he defined. In my book *Dvāravatī* I trace similar decline in the quality of the *dharmacakra* from the seventh century onwards; and also in the thrones of Buddhas seated European-style. I propose here to add another series, which I think is equally significant in showing the direction of change; that is to say a series of garlands decorating stone pillars. This is greatly helped by two of the recent finds I mention above.

The simple type of garland has only one Dvāravatī representative, that on the seventh-century pillar from Sal Sung, Lop Buri (fig. 11). Equally common in India was the compound type evolved from it, consisting of several superimposed ranges. We thus have five Dvāravatī examples, two of them with inscriptions. Perhaps the finest and earliest is to be seen on the fragmentary capital beneath the huge Nakhon Pathom block, well known from the heads looking out of *kudu* windows. It bears an inscription of the sixth or early seventh century, and has three varied ranges of garlands, the largest ones being made up of flowers. Since Gupta garlands are depicted as being made of beading these flowers are probably an Amarāvati holdover (fig. 12).

The garlands on the pillar from Site 11 at U Thong with their bold, deep cutting are perhaps almost contemporary to the delicately carved Nakhon Pathom example, but the floral representation is less evident (fig. 13). The Śi Thep fragment (fig. 14) shows a garland design of two ranges with some suggestion of florets, and may date from the late seventh century. Not earlier than the eighth century I should place the Śi Mahā Phot pillar with its schematized garlands and pendants (fig. 15). The Pali inscription on the Sab Champā pillar appears to show on paleographic grounds that it cannot be later than early eighth century.²⁰ Its garlands are schematic and imperfectly understood (fig. 16). Certainly our material shows a decline from the superb sixth-century work, which the Mōn artists strove in vain to maintain.

19. G. Coedès, *Les peuples de la Péninsule Indochinoise* (Paris, 1962), p. 72.

20. Verbal communication from professor Uraisi Varasarin.

If, by way of comparison, we turn to contemporary Chen-la, to see what the early Khmers made of the garland decoration they received from India, a surprise awaits us. A study by Mlle. M. Bénisti has made the evidence readily available.²¹ She shows that the early Khmers preferred the **simple** garland, particularly the kind seen at Ajanta Cave XXVII, which has a toothed leaf in the interior of each loop. The Khmers never experienced the extreme degree of Indianization that did the Môn. And with the decline of Indian influence, as I have attempted to show in previous publications, the Khmers tended to develop their art in accordance with urges from their pre-Indian civilization. From this they inherited a dislike for spiral or meandering forms and a preference for isolated motifs. So the seventh-century Khmers probably felt a repugnance for the compound garland with its more sinuous suggestions. But the simple garland containing the toothed leaf had greater appeal, and in the course of time the garland itself was evidently eliminated. In later Khmer art it is only the pendants surviving between the isolated leaf motifs that indicate the origin of the garland.²²

Quite to the contrary was the reception and treatment which the Chams gave to the Indian **compound** garlands. Not only did they welcome them but, actuated by the surviving influence of their previous Dong-son civilization, they had transformed them by the end of the ninth century into continuous undulating bands.²³

Interesting evidence for culture change exists on the periphery of the Dvāravatī cultural sphere, at Mūang Fa Daed in the northeastern province of Kalasin. The local population are likely to have been primitive Khmers, megalith builders, at the time the Môn Buddhist civilization spread to that region. Besides the evidence of art styles, other signs of this Môn influence have become available in recent years. I refer to the discovery of votive tablets inscribed with the name of a certain King Athid in Môn script,²⁴ as well as a Pāli inscription in Môn characters on one of the *sema* stones.²⁵ In addition to the Jātaka reliefs on the *sema* stones, the recent finding of half a dozen small bronze images of the Buddha at Site 3, similar to those known from U Thong, seems to be an indication of the Theravāda persuasion of the people.

The site is famous above all for its abundance of carved *sema* stones. In seeking an explanation in my book *Dvāravatī*, I could not fail to take into consideration the presence of many megalithic standing stones or menhirs in the same general region. The statement of the Fine Arts Department on this point may be considered vague.²⁶ But the late Major Seidenfaden,

21. Mireille Bénisti, *Rapports entre le premier art khmer et l'art indien* (Paris, 1970).

22. For examples in Khmer art from ninth-century Kulen onwards, see G. de Coral Rémusat, *L'art khmer: les grandes étapes de son évolution* (Paris, 1940), pls. VII, 19; VIII, 22; IX, 26.

23. Ph. Stern, *L'art du Champa* (Paris, 1942), pl. 36a.

24. Illustrated in *Silpākon*, XI, 6.

25. Piriya Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales Depicted at Chula Pathom Cedi* (Bangkok, 1974), page 26, note 10.

26. Fine Arts Department, *The Survey and Excavations in N.E. Thailand* (Bangkok, 1959), p. 61.

who was a very careful observer, mentioned having seen two perfect stone circles at one place in the northeast.²⁷ A magnificent standing stone some 9 feet high has been discovered in Udon Province, which I cannot imagine to have been originally a Buddhist *sema* stone.²⁸ The primitive Khmer megalith builders had probably been driven up to the Plateau by their Indianized kinsmen of the Mekong valley, and they took possession of the lands vacated by the vanished Ban Chiang civilization. In the same way it seems probable that other primitive Khmers escaped through a mountain pass to the province of Quang-tri, Viet Nam, where they established a full megalithic culture.²⁹ I suggest in my book that local tendencies gradually reasserted themselves as the Môn Buddhist influence began to decline, and that a cult of the *sema* developed. The size and decoration of the stones appear remarkable; moreover, nothing comparable has been found at any Dvāravatī site in central Siam, although at Fa Daed there is such an abundance. It seems to be a purely local development. And, unlike the orthodox Wheels depicted on the Kantharavisai silver plaques, some of those on the Fa Daed *sema* bear hints of vegetal decoration.³⁰ Other Fa Daed *sema* depict *stūpa* of such extreme attenuation that the sculptors might be suspected of having the idea of a sword or dagger at the back of their minds.³¹

My seemingly plausible hypothesis received a rude shock when attention was called to the existence of carved *sema* at the site of the ancient Môn Kalyani monastery at Thaton, Burma. These had actually been published as long ago as 1934.³² Neither the size nor number of these *sema* is mentioned, but seven are illustrated. They are all carved with Jātaka scenes which appear stylistically similar to the Fa Daed reliefs. They are thought to date from the eleventh or twelfth century. Their existence can leave no doubt that such stones were a feature of early Môn establishments. Their absence from corresponding sites in metropolitan Dvāravatī can be explained by the probability that, in an alluvial region where stone was not readily available, they would have been utilized for one purpose or another by later inhabitants. Luce states that in Burma *sema* were often removed from ancient sites.³³ But the profusion of carved *sema* at Müang Fa Daed, with the proximity in the region of megalithic menhirs, yet remained inexplicable and seemed to afford some measure of justification for my hypothesis. Such would be the case especially in considering that a people undergoing acculturation are likely to choose or stress a mode which has apparent affinity with something of their previous civilization.

Support for my view comes from another quarter; consequently my interpretation must remain radically different from that of Piriya Krairiksh, to whom we owe the identification of many of the Fa Daed Jātaka scenes.³⁴ Phnom Kulen, the mountain to the west of Angkor,

27. *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 29, p. 159.

28. *Muang Boran Journal*, vol. 2 no. 4 (1976), p. 32 and coloured plate.

29. H.G. Quaritch Wales, "The pre-Indian basis of Khmer culture", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1952), pp. 117-123.

30. Srisavara Vallibhotoma, "The *sema* complex of the North-East", *Muang Boran Journal*, vol. 1 (1975), fig. 5.

31. *Ibid.*, figs. 20-25.

32. *Annual Report of the Archeological Survey of India for the Years 1931-34*, pt. I, pp. 203 f.; pt. 2, pl. CXVI.

Also Piriya Krairiksh, "Semas with scenes from the Mahānīpāta-Jātakas in the National Museum at Khon Kaen", *Art and Archeology in Thailand*, I (1974), figs. 23-26.

33. G.H. Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan* (New York, 1970), p. 252, note 228.

34. Piriya Krairiksh, *loc. cit.*

was sacred to the ancient Khmers. It was there that King Jayavarman II initiated his cult of the *devarāja* early in the ninth century. Though outwardly dedicated to the Śiva *liṅga*, this cult was strongly influenced by pre-existing fertility cults. It would thus appear that at some more recent period Theravāda Buddhism was introduced among the primitive Sāmṛē people who still revere a supreme mountain deity. Understandably Buddhism there became influenced by their megalithic background. A cult of the *sema* evolved comparable to, but more developed than, that which I believe was practised at Fa Daed. Two explorers, J. Boulbet and B. Dagens, have described a number of hitherto unknown Hindu sites on Phnom Kulen, also the remains of two Buddhist *vihāra*.³⁵ In each of the last-mentioned the building was reduced to a mound, with around it eight correctly placed pairs of carved *sema*. Some of the stones exceed 2 metres in height. There is only one Jātaka scene, but many of the stones are carved with Buddhist or supposedly Buddhist emblems. Apart from an *abhiseka* of Śrī, all are either Wheels of the Law or *stūpa*. Only the latter are said to be recognizable as such to the better informed of the present-day Sāmṛē inhabitants.

The transformation that I believe had overtaken the Fa Daed *dharmacakra* is abundantly confirmed at Phnom Kulen. The modifications there appear to me very significant. The *dharmacakra* acquires a vegetal character, sometimes with a spire, thus identified with the Tree of Life. In one case it is flanked by two animals which are certainly not the orthodox deer associated with the First Sermon (fig. 17a). More likely they represent the opposing creative forces. The other face of this stone (fig. 17b) bears what appears to be the representation of a mountain rather than of a *stūpa*. To the Sāmṛē with their supreme mountain deity, the Mountain probably meant more than did the Tree. Two of the Phnom Kulen stones bear definite representations of the 'sacred sword'.³⁶ And we know that the sword or dagger is widely associated with the menhir.³⁷ Such changes cannot be explained in terms of orthodox Buddhism—nor can they be ignored. With nothing comparable known elsewhere in Cambodia, the discoverers did not fail to draw attention to the similar developments at Fa Daed, no less than 300 kilometres away. They thought that some religious people might have migrated thence to Phnom Kulen, attracted by its far-famed holy reputation. But Buddhist teachings from whatever source travelling far afield into the Khmer cultural environment might separately have undergone modification, just as the Hindu cult of the *liṅga* had earlier been transformed into that of the *devarāja*.

Reverting once more to recent discoveries in Thailand, an enigma is posed by some impressive Dvāravatī-like sculptures in a limestone cave near the southern shore of the Bay of

35. J. Boulbet and B. Dagens, "Les sites archéologiques de la région du Bham Gulen", *Arts Asiatiques* (1973), pp. 42 ff., illus.

36. *Ibid.*, photo 130 and figs. 15, 16.

37. F.M. Schnitger, "Les terrasses mégalithiques de Java", *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, tome XIII (1939), pt. 2, p. 106 and note 1.

Bandon. Examination *in situ* is essential for their full appreciation. The cave of Wat Kū Hā is situated a little off the main road running east from Surat, just before reaching the town of Kanchanadit. It is thus near the southern shore of the Bay, almost opposite the town of Chaiya on the northern shore. Disregarding a row of modern Buddhas one is confronted by an impressive array of Gupta-inspired art which is reminiscent of an Ajanta cave-temple. These works are all executed in a kind of clay adhering to the limestone walls.

Just inside the cave, overlooking the entrance, one is faced by a large bas-relief showing several earth-touching seated Buddhas, a *stūpa* of somewhat peculiar form, and several architectural features including a pediment (fig. 18). In a deep cleft in the rock to the left some 15 feet above floor level, a large clay figure of the Buddha in the round is seated European-style accompanied on either side by lesser images (fig. 19). I did not see any standing figures. Probably the best-preserved of all the Kū Hā sculptures is a large seated Buddha at a much higher level in the cleft. Only the head and shoulders of this image can be seen, and then only from outside the cave through a gap in the wall. Through binoculars the facial features appear exceptionally well preserved.

In the present state of knowledge it would be too facile to attribute these sculptures to Dvāravatī influence, even without claiming any Dvāravatī political domination of the region. There is good reason to believe that in the seventh and eighth centuries, prior to the coming of the Śrīvijayans, this area was occupied by the state of Tāmbraḷiṅga. Elsewhere I have given reasons for supposing that the Buddhist remains of the early period found around the Bay of Bandon represent a parallel development to that of Dvāravatī, derived independently from Gupta or late Gupta sources.³⁸ I have expressed the same opinion with regard to the Buddhist objects found at Yarang, Pattani, which was probably the site of the contemporary state of Langkasuka.³⁹

A writer in a recent issue of *Muang Boran Journal* expresses similar views both as regards Wat Kū Hā art and that of Yarang: "The art of the fourth and sixth centuries was strongly influenced by Gupta art, and this easily explains why image styles are so much alike, What needs to be explained are the differences in points of detail."⁴⁰ A detailed study, on a comparative basis, of the art of Wat Kū Hā is urgently called for, and as regards Yarang I cannot do better than quote the closing sentence of the above-mentioned article: "Yarang has yet to be excavated scientifically, but when it is we can expect the site to yield up some of the answer to the question of why an art style like Dvāravatī is found spread so far afield."⁴¹

The other side of the medal, so to speak, concerns the extent of Śrīvijayan influence in Dvāravatī. We are certainly now in a better position to delimit this than was the case a decade ago, when I regarded it as the great question for the future. The discovery of the remarkable series of bas-reliefs at Chula Pathon *stūpa*, which was incompletely excavated by Pierre Dupont,

38. H.G. Quaritch Wales, *The Malay Peninsula in Hindu Times* (London, 1976), pp. 60 f.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

40. No na Paknam, "Dvāravatī art styles in Pattani", *Muang Boran Journal*, vol. 5 no. 2 (Dec. 1978-Jan. 1979), p. 77.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

and their subsequent analysis by Piriya Krairiksh, has largely cleared up this problem so far as western Dvāravatī is concerned. Dr. Piriya has shown their complete freedom from Mahāyānist concepts and from the representation of Bodhisattvas as cult images.⁴² I have explained in a recent article that the undoubted Mahāyānism which must have accompanied the large number of Mahāyānist bronzes found at Phra Khon Chai and elsewhere on the Khorat Plateau, and which probably reached the Thamorat Cave near Śī Thep, resulted from influences spreading westwards from Chen-la.⁴³ These influences brought to the Plateau the late eighth-century Khmer style of Kompong Prah, which is ultimately of Javanese and not Śrīvijayan inspiration. As evidence for Śrīvijayan influence, and then only to the extent that Śrīvijayan art styles were appreciated throughout Dvāravatī, we still have little more than isolated votive tablets and occasional small bronze Bodhisattvas, such as have been found at U Thong,⁴⁴ Ku Bua,⁴⁵ and more recently at Müang Fa Daed.⁴⁶

42. *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.

43. H. G. Quaritch Wales, "The extent of Śrīvijaya's influence abroad", *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. LI pt. 1 (1978), pp. 5-11.

44. *Guide to the U Thong Museum*, fig. 28.

45. J. Boisselier, *Arts Asiatiques*, XXV (1972), fig. 36. He found it at Site 17, near Wat Klong. Boisselier also gives in this publication an excellent plan and elevation of Wat Klong, the appearance of which monument, as I noticed when revisiting it in 1978, has been greatly improved by the removal of the debris on the north side, as well as the monks' museum formerly on the summit.

46. Illustrated in *Guide to the Khon Kaen Museum*.



Figure 1.



Figure 2.

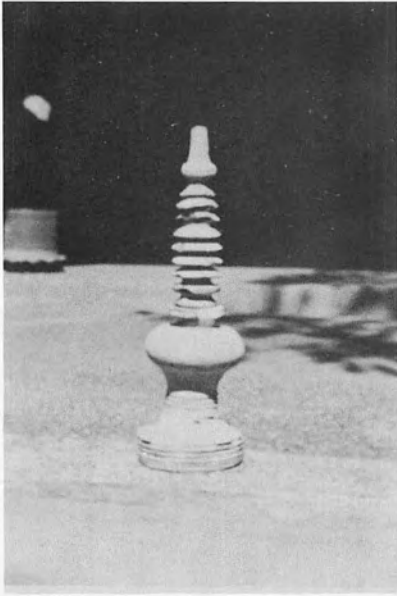


Figure 3.



Figure 5.

Figure 4.



Figure 6.



Figure 7.

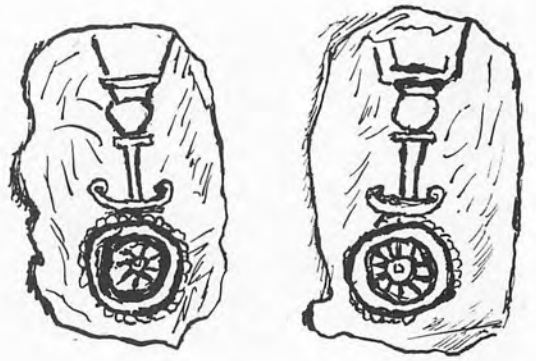


Figure 9.

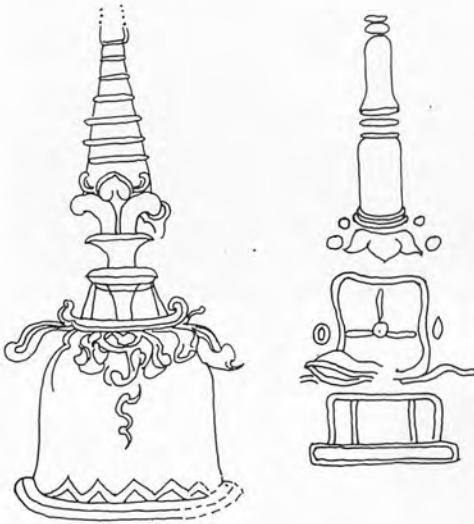


Figure 8.



Figure 10.



Figure 11.

Figure 13.



Figure 12.



Figure 14.



Figure 15.



Figure 16.

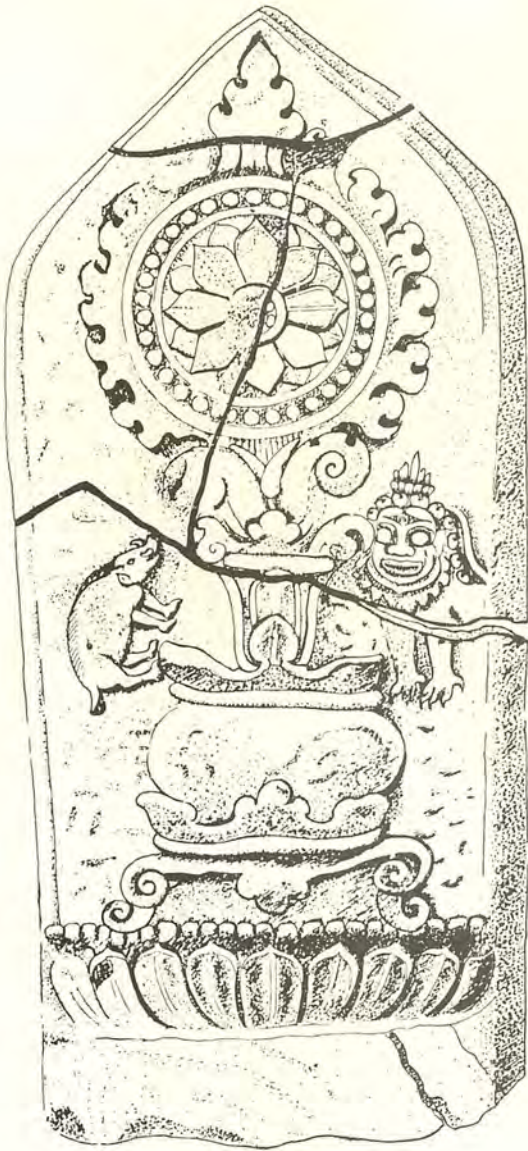


Figure 17.

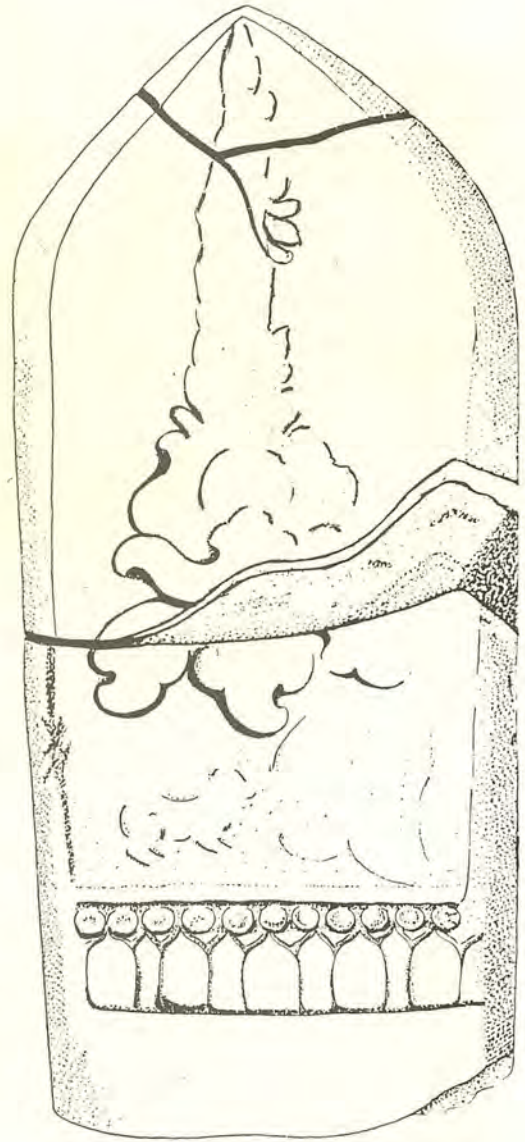


Figure 18.

ISLAM IN THAILAND BEFORE THE BANGKOK PERIOD

by

RAYMOND SCUPIN*

To understand the expansion of Islam into southern Thailand, it is necessary to view it from the perspective of the spread of Islam to southeastern Asia. Although there were contacts between Muslim and southeast Asian countries as early as the fourth century A.D., and Persian-Arabic trading colonies were established as early as the ninth century A.D., mass conversions to Islam, in a sociological sense, did not begin until the thirteenth century A.D.¹ In general, Persian and Arabic traders were not successful in transplanting their religious traditions. These colonies were, for the most part, transient or impermanent.² The intensification of Islamic proselytizing in southeast Asia had to await the implantation of Islam in the Gujerati area of northwest India and the increase of the Muslim population in the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, the development of Sufism, and the fall of Baghdad in A.D. 1258³. In the context of the global movement of Islam, the Mongol invasion and the subsequent fall of Baghdad led to an exodus of learned Muslim scholars and missionaries to south, southeast, and east Asia. This, coupled with the emergence of Sufism, the mystical variation of Islam, paved the way for a successful missionary enterprise. Sufism, as were Hinduism and Buddhism which preceded it, was eclectic enough to accommodate itself to indigenous mystical and spiritual patterns.⁴ And the Muslim traders from India, who were also enthusiastic about Sufism, aided in the establishment of Islam in the merchant princedoms of northern Sumatra, the Celebes, Java, and the ports of Malaysia.

Mass or 'political' conversions, when rulers or states adopted Islam, began during the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. The northern port of Sumatra, an important trading outpost nearest to the Islamic centers of the Middle East and India, was the first town to become 'Islamized'. Many scholars have noted that Marco Polo recorded this fact in his journals of A.D. 1292. Pasai, a neighbouring coastal principality, was governed by a ruler who became a Muslim around A.D. 1300. And from Pasai Islam spread to Malacca, presumably by a marriage contracted by a Malaccan ruler and a Muslim Pasai princess.⁵ Later Pasai and Malacca both became missionary and theological centers for the further expansion of Islam throughout the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

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1. G.R. Tibbets, "Early Muslim traders in Southeast Asia", *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Society*, 30 (1), pp. 1-45. 1957; S.Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Institute, 1963, p. 69; Cesar Adib Majul, *International Association of Historians of Asia, Proceedings*, Second Biennial Conference, Taipei, 6-9 Oct. 1962, p. 343.

2. G.R. Tibbets, *loc. cit.*, p. 42.

3. Fatimi, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-99; Majul, *op. cit.*, pp. 394-397.

4. H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, New York City: Octagon Books, 1972, p. 23.

5. O.W. Wolters, *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970, p. 160; Majul, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

It is difficult to establish a definitive date for the introduction of Islam into what is present-day south Thailand. Although some early scholars have posited that Islam came to Patani, the principal Muslim center of south Thailand, at an earlier date than its entry into Malacca, no firm evidence has been established to corroborate this conclusion.⁶ Most specialists of the area assume that local inhabitants were converted to Islam during the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D.⁷ But thanks largely to the scholastic endeavors of Teeuw and Wyatt on the history of Patani, we do have some local traditions concerning the 'process' of Islamization in this southern region. The sources of these local traditions are based upon a recently discovered Malay manuscript of the *Hikayat Patani*, and a Thai translation or abridgement of this Malay manuscript. The two sources relate a parallel legend of how the ruler of Patani became seriously ill and issued a proclamation to the effect that he would offer his daughter in marriage to anyone who could cure him. A Muslim from Pasai who was living near Patani offered to cure the ruler, on the promise that the ruler would convert to Islam. The ruler agreed, was treated by the Muslim and recovered. However the ruler went back on his word and refused to convert. After several relapses and several cures followed by broken promises, the ruler finally decided to become a Muslim.⁸ Thomas Fraser, in gathering ethnohistorical data in Rusembilan (a settlement near Patani) from Haji Wan Jussof, arrived at essentially the same basic outline of Islamic conversion in Patani.⁹

Several interesting features are derived from these local traditions which illuminate the structural and historical process of Islamization in Patani. The first significant aspect of this tradition is that individuals occupying high-status positions were the initial converts. This is in conformity with what social historians have hypothesized about the emergence of Islam throughout insular southeast Asia.¹⁰ In general it appears that Islam was adopted by ruling families based on personal considerations and political self-interest. This factor is reemphasized in that there is simply a nominal acceptance of Islam by the ruler rather than any kind of mystical or revelatory experience.

As for the King himself it is true that he became a Muslim inasmuch as he gave up worshipping idols and eating pork; but apart from that he did not alter a single one of his heathen habits.¹¹

6. Teeuw and David Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani - The Story of Patani*, vol. I, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1970, p. 4.

7. Thomas Ladd, "Bureaucratic attitudes and behavior as obstacles to political integration of Thai Muslims", *Southeast Asia: An International Quarterly*, 3 (1), 1974, p. 545; Thomas Fraser, *Rusembilan: A Malay Fishing Village*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 19.

8. Teeuw and Wyatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-152; David Wyatt, "A Thai version of Newbold's 'Hikayat Patani'", *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 40, 1967, pp. 16-37.

9. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

10. Majul, *op. cit.*, p. 377; J.C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*, vol. I, 1955, p. 144.

11. Teeuw and Wyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

Another interesting aspect of this legend involves the offering of a daughter in marriage by the local ruler. Other historians have also noted this regularity with respect to the spread of Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia, whereby a Muslim immigrant would marry into an indigenous ruler's family.¹² The case of Malacca is the classical example of this process noted above, but undoubtedly there were other cases. And finally, one other factor in the legend is that, although the ruler himself accepted Islam, the majority of the population in the hinterland did not do so.¹³ This would seem to indicate a continuous process of Islamization rather than any abrupt, millenarian type of conversion. This is consonant with the findings of other specialists with regard to Islamization throughout insular southeast Asia.¹⁴ Hence this Muslim folklore from Patani tends to confirm the conclusions of specialists studying Islamization in Malaysia or Indonesia. And it indirectly elucidates our understanding of the sociology of conversion in the Patani area, currently part of south Thailand. Apparently the expansion of Islam into this area was similar to the way it came to the Malayan-Indonesian world.

Thai sovereignty in the Islamic provinces

According to official Thai historiography, the area of Patani, including Yala, Narathiwat, and Satun, was incorporated into what was considered the Thai kingdom shortly after the coming of Islam. A Thai government pamphlet on 'Islam in Thailand' issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs states:

According to historical records, the 4 provinces have been an integral part of Thailand since the period of King Ramkhamhaeng... They were then called the Territories to the South (Hua Muang Pak Tai),¹⁵

This would put the date for this event within the thirteenth century, during the Sukhodaya period. This historiography may to some extent reflect exogenous sources; for, as Bastin and Wyatt show, there were early arguments in Western treatises that the entire Malay Peninsula belonged to Sukhodaya from the mid-thirteenth century until the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in A.D. 1511.¹⁶ On this issue most Western historians follow Coedès, who used epigraphic sources combined with Chinese and Pali documents to conclude that the greater part of the Malay Peninsula submitted to Ram Gamhen at least as early as A.D. 1294.¹⁷ But Bastin and Wyatt conclude that the Pali and Chinese sources are really incon-

12. Brain Harrison, *Southeast Asia: A Short History*, London, New York: Macmillan Co., 1966, pp. 201-202.

13. Teeuw and Wyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 152; Wyatt, 1967, *loc. cit.*, p. 21.

14. Majul, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

15. Thailand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Islam in Thailand*, English ed., Bangkok: Thai Government, 1976, p. 9.

16. John Bastin and David Wyatt, "Mainland powers on the Malay Peninsula, A.D. 1000-1511", *International Conference on Asian History*, 5-10 August 1968, unpubl., Kuala Lumpur: Department of History, University of Malaya, p. 1.

17. George Coedès, *Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: East-West Center, 1968, p. 373; A.B. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, "On kingship and society at Sukhodaya", in G. William Skinner and A. Thomas Kirsch (eds.), *Change and Persistence in Thai Society*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975, p. 42; Lawrence P. Briggs, "The Khmer empire and the Malay Peninsula", *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 9, 1950, p. 301.

clusive about the Thai advance southward.¹⁸ Based upon evidence from local chronicles of Nagara Sri Dhammaraja (Nakhon Si Thammarat) it does appear that Nagara Sri Dhammaraja was in fact in some sort of dependent vassal relationship *vis-à-vis* Sukhodaya.¹⁹ Nagara Sri Dhammaraja had served as a maritime outlet for Sukhodaya, and apparently a Sukhodayan king even visited the area in the latter part of the thirteenth century.²⁰ And furthermore, Nagara Sri Dhammaraja had tributary vassal relations with many of the southern provinces including Patani. Thus Nagara Sri Dhammaraja conceivably could have been an intermediate appendage of the Sukhodaya kingdom which maintained some link with the southernmost provinces.

Thus, it appears that the official government account of the incorporation of the Muslim southern provinces is not definitely wrong, yet it is only partially correct. For it cannot be denied rigorously that Patani and the surrounding area did not have some relationship with the northern Sukhodaya kingdom. And yet to say that these provinces were an 'integral' part of the kingdom is definitely an overstatement of historical reality. The nub of this problem involves a precise conception of the structure of the vassalage network between the southern provinces and the northern kingdom. Most recently Tambiah deals with the problem in an illuminating analysis of what he terms "galactic polity".²¹ The model of the galactic polity, a variant of Weber's "patrimonial bureaucracy", is applied to the Sukhodayan and Ayudhyan kingdoms. In the galactic polity the king directly controls the manpower and resources in the central geographical location, while the provinces in the outlying districts are essentially autonomous replications of the center. Although this model is not new to southeast Asian specialists, having been utilized by Heine-Geldern (1942), Leach (1960), Gullick (1958), Geertz (1973), *et al.*, it is systematically sharpened in respect to the Thai data by Tambiah.²² He concludes that the galactic polities of Sukhodaya and Ayudhya were modelled on India or, more precisely, Buddhist cosmological ideals and legal conceptions. But he is quick to admit that these notions could have only taken root in Thailand because of preexisting indigenous social conditions.²³

With the use of Wales's description of the Sukhodaya kingdom, Tambiah employs the galactic model to illustrate the specific conditions of a typical, traditional southeast Asian polity. After Sukhodaya gained autonomy from the declining Khmer empire, it brought

18. Bastin and Wyatt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 21-23.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 25; David Wyatt, *The Crystal Sands: The Chronicles of Nagara Sri Dhammaraja*, Data Paper No. 98, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975, pp. 92-93; Nantawan Haemindra, "The problems of the Thai Muslims in the four southern provinces of Thailand (Part One)", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 7(2), 1976, p. 198; Charnvit Kasetsiri, *The Rise of Ayudhya: A History of Siam in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Kuala Lumpur, London, New York, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp. 24, 39.

20. Kasetsiri, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

21. Stanley Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976, chaps. 7-8.

22. R. Heine-Geldern, "Conceptions of state and kingship in Southeast Asia", *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 2, 1942 pp. 15-20; Edmund R. Leach, "The frontiers of Burma", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 3, 1960 pp. 49-68; J.M. Gullick, *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya*, London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 17, London: Athlone Press, 1958; Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

23. Tambiah, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

under its control three of its neighbouring *muangs* (provinces) which were all located within a distance of two days' march. In spite of this, these regions were largely independent satellites, ruled by sons of the king, and were considered as having the status of children *vis-à-vis* the capital province of Sukhodaya. And there were outlying regions beyond these four provinces which were independent kingdoms that had tributary relationships with Sukhodaya. As Tambiah concludes,

When King Ram Kamheng claimed as part of his kingdom various Lao polities of the north and northeast, *the old kingdom of Nagara Sri Dhammaraja in the south*, and the kingdom of Pegu to the west, he was at best claiming this indirect overlordship.²⁴

Thus, like the early Indonesian kingdoms classified by Geertz as "theater states"²⁵, Sukhodaya appeared to have an 'exemplary center' where political symbolism was well demarcated, but where an effective administrative structure was absent in respect of outlying areas. Political boundaries were constantly fluctuating in accordance with the exigencies at any particular time. In territorial terms, the political center was linked to peripheral regions by indefinite, tenuous ties.²⁶ Clearly, the four southernmost provinces were not an 'integral' part of the Sukhodaya kingdom, but rather loosely circumscribed tributary polities which were extremely localized. Nagara Sri Dhammaraja appears to have been a mediating node between some of these southern Malay states and the Sukhodayan central provinces. And, apparently after the death of Ram Gamhen and the succession of his son Lodaiya, the tie between the southern Malay states and the Sukhodayan political center was severed.²⁷

The Ayudhyan kingdom also exhibits the same structural features of the 'galactic polity'. Tambiah specified the territorial configuration for the Ayudhyan kingdom at two points of time: between 1460 and 1590, and between the seventeenth and eighteenth century. During the former period Nagara Sri Dhammaraja was a second-class province of Ayudhya which was ruled as an autonomous entity by a local hereditary ruler. In other words, as Wales remarks, its "status differed little from that which it had enjoyed since the time of Rama Gamhen".²⁸ And at that time the more southern Malay states were foreign, 'independent' polities on the perimeter of Ayudhya which triennially sent formal tribute, *bunga mas*, or gold and silver trees, to the Thai king. But during the latter part of the Ayudhyan period, after King Naresuan's reforms (A.D. 1590-1605), Nagara Sri Dhammaraja was upgraded to a first-class province which reflected a greater degree of centralization, and it extended Thai sovereignty. Yet, the status of the southernmost dependencies does not seem to have been transformed dramatically. *

During the Ayudhyan period, Patani, and its immediate environs, though independent,

24. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

25. Geertz, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

26. Donald E. Brown, *Principles of Social Structure: Southeast Asia*, London: Duckworth Press, 1976, pp. 100-108.

27. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.

28. H.G. Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1965, p. 106.

did maintain formal ties with the northern capital. The basis of the alliance appears to be related to a straightforward, calculated self-interest, in Patani that was in direct competition with Malacca as a commercial entrepôt until the seventeenth century.²⁹ Hence connections between Ayudhya and Patani fluctuated in response to local economic contingencies. But after the beginning of the seventeenth century and the decline of Portuguese trade, Patani became the principal port for Japanese and Thai traders. At that time political relations between Patani and the Ayudhyan center became much more substantive.³⁰

It was not until the beginning of the Bangkok period (A.D. 1782) that the Thai state began to become more deeply involved in the affairs of the southern vassalage network. Tambiah has aptly characterized the transformation of the Ayudhyan 'galactic polity' into a patrimonial bureaucratic state of Chakri design which he terms the 'radial polity'.³¹ The concept of the radial polity consists of a state with a primate city (Bangkok) which attempts to exert direct political control of the provinces through its governmental agents. In respect of the historical record of the southern Malay states, following the Ayudhyan period the Burmese occupied the whole of the south from Mergui as the political center. Eventually they captured the Thai centers of Nakhon Si Thammarat and Songkhla.³² But following the ascendancy of Rama I these areas were recaptured and designated as administrative centers in order to extend Thai hegemony over Patani and its environs. Songkhla was detached from Nakhon Si Thammarat and accorded a superior rank with jurisdiction over a somewhat rebellious Patani. This policy led to a divisive struggle between these two Thai centers which did not aid Bangkok in the implementation of the vassalage.³³ Shortly thereafter Patani was divided into seven districts called *muang* which were governed by Songkhla. Then in Chulalongkorn's reign the seven *muang* were grouped as *monthon* (circle) Patani, and were ruled under the supervision of a special royal commission.³⁴ During this period under Prince Damrong's administrative reforms (1892) all *muang* were divided into areas of direct or indirect rule. In the *muang* classified as being directly ruled, indigenous rulers were replaced by centrally appointed officials who were responsible to the Ministry of the Interior. But in areas of indirect rule as *monthon* Patani was, local rulers were not replaced but were subject to the jurisdiction of the central bureaucracy in Bangkok. In return for this administrative jurisdiction, the local sultans were appointed as titular heads of their respective areas and were given an annual salary and part of the rice tax. Most of the local rulers agreed to this scheme, were given Thai names, and were appointed to the Ministry of the Interior.³⁵ In the next major administrative changes following the coup d'état of 1932, all *monthon*, were abolished, each *muang* was given some degree of self-

29. Teeuw and Wyatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9; Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

30. Teeuw and Wyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

31. Tambiah, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

32. Klaus Wenk, *The Restoration of Thailand Under Rama I, 1782-1809*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968, p. 60.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 66; W.F. Vella, *Siam Under Rama III, 1824-1851*, Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin, 1957, p. 61.

34. Tambiah, *op. cit.*, p. 197; Haemindra, *loc. cit.*, p. 202; M. Vickery, "Thai regional elites and the reforms of King Chulalongkorn", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 39(4), 1970, pp. 876-877.

35. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

government within limits and was classified as *changwat*.³⁶ The *changwat* of Pattani, Satun, Yala, and Narathiwat were absorbed into the radial polity which extended outwards from the Bangkok metropolis.

One factor which must be stressed in attempting to account for the establishment of Thai sovereignty over these Muslim areas, is the degree to which Thai immigrants from the north were settling in the Malay Peninsula. There is some epigraphic evidence to suggest that Thai settlers were progressively moving down the Peninsula during the twelfth century.³⁷ Folklore accounts for Thai settlers in the southern Peninsula during the Sukhodaya period.³⁸ In the later Ayudhyan era there appeared to be a governmental policy aimed towards assimilation, and Thai settlers were introduced into these southern provinces.³⁹ As Vella remarks, by the time of Rama III the Thai segment of the population was increasing more rapidly than the resident Malay population.⁴⁰ Whether this development was the intended result of a project by Thai authorities appears to be a matter of interpretation, but the consequences of this southward migration did facilitate the incorporation process.

Islam in central Thailand

The genesis of Islam in central Thailand is distinctly different and separate from the spread of Islam to southern Thailand. The earliest evidence indicating a link between central Thailand and the Islamic world has been discovered only recently. In 1957, while excavating at Wat Rajaburana in ancient Ayudhya, archeologists from Silpakorn University uncovered two gold coins with Arabic script on both sides. Wat Rajaburana was built during the early Ayudhyan period, in the reign of King Sam Praya Boromaraja (A.D. 1418 - 1434). The script on one side of each gold coin was read as "Sultan Al-Adil", while that on the other side was read as "Zain-ul-Abiden-Malik".⁴¹ The provenance of the coins was Kashmir, and they had been minted during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden (A.D. 1420-1470), at Saraf Kadal, known as Tanki Sarai.⁴² Ostensibly Ayudhya was a stopping place for Muslim traders from Kashmir on the salt trade route to China in the fifteenth century.⁴³ Aside from this particular datum, there is nothing to indicate any Muslim contact with Ayudhya or central Thailand until the expansion of trade in the seventeenth century.

As in other parts of southeast Asia, trade was the important factor in the migration of Muslims to central Thailand. Although foreign trade was relatively unimportant in respect to the Thai economy as a whole, by the end of the sixteenth century an overseas

36. R. Landon, *Siam in Transition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 84.

37. Kasetsiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

38. Francis H. Giles, "The Koh Lak tradition", *Journal of the Siam Society*, 30, 1938, p. 15.

39. Wenk, *op. cit.*, p. 102; Teeuw and Wyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

40. Vella, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

41. Direk Kulsiriswasd, *The Historical and Literary Relations of Muslims in Siam*, Bangkok: Silpakorn University (in Thai), 1973, pp. 14-15.

42. R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir 1320-1819*, Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1969, p. 155.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5.

trade began to stimulate a demand for Thai exports.⁴⁴ A circular trading network involved the importation of Indian cloth for Thai consumption in exchange for non-monetary commodities. These commodities were sent on to the Japanese market and exchanged for silver and other products, which eventually were sent to India. Thai exports included mainly unprocessed natural products such as deerskins, other animal hides, aloe wood, rice, pepper, sugar, ivory and elephants.⁴⁵ This trade gathered momentum during the seventeenth century, leading to the eventual penetration of the European economic powers. But Muslim traders from various countries had been participating in the Thai foreign trade almost from the beginning.

During the seventeenth century the Thai economy was not a fully developed market economy but was rather an administered economy. Both Thai and European records indicate that the King of Ayudhya strictly and absolutely controlled both domestic and foreign trade.⁴⁶ King Mongkut, in writing on Thai trade history late in Chakri dynastic times, stated that the kings themselves had established royal monopolies in order to gain revenue for the royal treasury. Many commodities were monopolized by the king, while others were denied to traders until the king had as much as he wanted to buy. This royal control had also prevailed during the Ayudhyan period. Private traders had been allowed to trade in certain so-called 'vulgar' commodities, but most export goods had been subject to royal prerogative. Although this institutional framework was not conducive to the development of indigenous entrepreneurs, ironically it led to some opportunities for foreign traders. For example, at times various Thai kings would lend capital to foreign traders in order to stimulate trade in particular commodities and ultimately derive some of the profits for the royal coffers.⁴⁷ Because of this economic and political climate, many Muslims came and established themselves in the Ayudhyan capital to become successful traders.

Persian Muslims

One of the most influential ethnic trading communities in seventeenth-century Ayudhya was that of Iranian or Persian Muslims. Iranian navigation and commercial activities were evident well before the Islamic era.⁴⁸ But during the Islamic period this commercial activity became more intense, resulting in the establishment of Iranian outposts in various parts of southeast Asia. In the inscription of Ram Gamhen of 1292, a Persian word translated as

44. Teeuw and Wyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 13; W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb: A Study in Indian Economic History*, New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Company, 1923, p. 65.

45. James C. Ingram, *Economic Change in Thailand*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971, p. 21; Muhammad ibn Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, trans. John O'Kane, Persian Heritage Series No. 11, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, p. 151.

46. Ingram, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 26, 27; Simon de La Loubere, *The Kingdom of Siam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 112; Nicholas Gervaise, *The Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam A.D. 1688*, Bangkok, 1928, p. 132; G.W. Hutchinson, *1688 Revolution in Siam: The Memoire of Father de Beze, S.J.*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1968, p. 11.

47. Gervaise, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-133; Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

48. Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula Before A.D. 1500*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961, p. 283.

“bazaar” was used to designate a market in Sukhodaya.⁴⁹ This suggests that there may have been a trading relationship between Persia and Sukhodaya in this early period. There is some linguistic evidence to suggest that Iranians may have known about the city of Ayudhya from its foundation in the fourteenth century. In one important navigational tract dated in 1462, the city of Ayudhya is referred to as “Shar-i-Naw”. The translation of Shar-i-Naw is usually rendered as “new town”.⁵⁰ Thus it may be inferred that Iranians knew about Ayudhya at the time of its initial establishment in A.D. 1350.⁵¹

The first Persian Muslims mentioned in the Ayudhyan chronicles were two brothers, Shayk Ahmad and Muhammad Sa-id, who came during the reign of King Naresuan (A.D. 1590-1605). These Muslims were referred to by the Thais as “*khaek*” which was a general term covering Arab, Persian, Indian, and Malay immigrants and their descendants. Thus it is somewhat equivalent to the term “*pathee*” as used by the Burmese.⁵² For that reason some writers have mistakenly referred to these brothers as Arabs.⁵³ In fact they were Iranians who established a settlement in the area south of Wat Suan Luang near Klong Krajan. This area is known as “Tha-Ka-Ji” which was a Thai distortion of the Persian word “*aqā*” which meant “leader” or “chief”, with the suffix “*ji*” added to denote respect.⁵⁴ In this area there are the remains of what is called Kudithong or “Golden Mosque” which is identified with the personage of Shayk Ahmad.⁵⁵

Shayk Ahmad, Muhammad Sa-id and their descendants laid the foundations of the Bunnag family, a politically prominent family in Thai society for over three centuries.⁵⁶ Although not much is known regarding the life of Muhammad Sa-id, Shayk Ahmad became an influential political leader during the early seventeenth century in Ayudhya. Following M.R. Kukrit Pramoj’s account, Shayk Ahmad helped mastermind the coup staged by King Songtam against Pra Sin Si in A.D. 1620.⁵⁷ He was on good terms with Cha-mun Sri Sorarak, later known as King Prasot Thong or the “Bottled Spider”. Cha-mun Sri Sorarak had also aided Songtam in his coup. For their efforts both Cha-mun Sri Sorarak and Shayk

49. A.B. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, “Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 9: the inscription of King Rama Gamhen of Sukhodaya (A.D. 1292)”, *Journal of the Siam Society*, 59 (2), July 1971, p. 213.

50. Ayyed Naquib Al-Attas, “Note on the opening of relations between China and Malacca, 1403-05”, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Society*, 38, 1965, p. 261; George Hans Penth, “An account in the Hikayat Atjeh on relations between Siam and Atjeh”, in *Felicitation Volumes of Southeast Asian Studies Offered to Prince Dhani Nivat*, Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1965.

51. It must be added that in John O’Kane’s translation of Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim’s account of a seventeenth-century Persian voyage to Thailand, the city of Ayudhya is called “Shar-i-Nav” which is translated as “City of the Boat”. This also makes sense in that Ayudhya was completely surrounded by canals, and boats were the principal means of transportation. See Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

52. Moshe Yegar, *The Muslims of Burma*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972, p. 7.

53. M.R. Kukrit Pramoj, “A history of Muslims in Thailand”, in Thai, lecture delivered at Suan Kulab College, Bangkok: Aksornsarn Press 1968, p. 3.

54. Kulsiriswasd, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 15; Pramoj, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

56. David Wyatt, “A Persian mission to Siam in the reign of King Narai”, *Journal of the Siam Society*, 62(1), 1974, pp. 154-155; David Wyatt, “Family politics in nineteenth-century Thailand”, *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 9(2), Sept. 1968, pp. 208-228; Akin Rabibhadana, *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period, 1782-1873*, Interim Report Series No. 12, Data Paper No. 74, Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969, p. 213.

57. Pramoj, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Ahmad were given high political posts. Ahmad received the title "Praya Rathanarasetthi". Later during the well-known attempts at political intrigue on the part of the Japanese *samurai* population in Ayudhya, Ahmad and Cha-mun helped in suppressing these activities. They were rewarded with yet higher positions. Ahmad was appointed as "Samuhanaiyok" and remained so until he was 87 years old. For a time he was appointed as the "Phraklang" or Minister of Foreign Trade which oversaw and regulated foreign trade and had some part in controlling the foreign population of Ayudhya. This position was divided between departments (*krom*) of the Central Port or harbor. A Left-Wing Port Department (Krom Tha Sai) headed by a person of Chinese descent dealt with the Chinese; and a Right-Wing Department (Krom Tha Kwa), headed by a *khaek*, was in charge of activities dealing with *khaek* and other foreigners.⁵⁸

For later accounts of the Iranian community we must turn to Western sources and Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim's perceptive journal. In terms of population size, Ibrahim mentions that about 30 traders were living in Ayudhya at the time of his visit in the latter part of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ However, there must have been a considerable number of other Iranians, for other scholars have noted that there was a substantial number of Muslims from the Middle East.⁶⁰ Many of the Iranians were descendants of the aristocratic or upper classes of Iran; and the community included not only merchants but also a fair number of other educated people, such as architects, artisans, scholars, and poets.⁶¹ In other words the stream of Muslims from Iran consisted of people, many highly educated, with various occupational roles. Though trade provided the major impetus for immigration, other types of Iranians followed in the wake of the merchants. In effect, the Iranian immigrants comprised a fully developed ethnic 'community' in this early Ayudhyan kingdom.

The sociopolitical structure of this Iranian community, within the context of the Ayudhyan bureaucracy, has been commented on by La Loubere and Ibrahim, both visitors in the seventeenth century. The Iranians had their own quarter of the city, or Ban, headed by a political leader, or Nai, appointed by the king to manage the affairs of the community.⁶² As mentioned above, the Phraklang of the Krom Tha Kwa was in charge of all the foreign residents with the exception of the Chinese. And since the period of Shayk Ahmad's ascendancy to this position, the Phraklang was held by the leader of the Iranian community for most of the seventeenth century. Thus the Nai of the Ban, and Phraklang, were offices jointly held by the same individual. This gave the Iranian community a great deal of political leverage in dealings with the royal authorities. There were also other royal appointments held by members of the Iranian community. Some positions were adjunct to the Krom Tha Kwa, while others were high-ranking titles such as "Khan Upra" or prime minister.⁶³ Ibrahim

58. Thailand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *History of the Bureaucratic Structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, in Thai, Bangkok: Thai Government, 1976, p. 19.

59. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

60. La Loubere, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Larry Sternstein, "'Krung Kao': the old capital of Ayutthaya", *Journal of the Siam Society*, 53, 1965, p. 1078.

61. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 57, 102-103.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 125; La Loubere, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

63. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 51; La Loubere, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Gervaise, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

indicates that this Muslim community was governed by its own religious and secular judges in accordance with customary practices.⁶⁴ This suggests that the Sharia, or Islamic law, may have been operative for this community. Although this was definitely the case for the early trading colonies within China,⁶⁵ we do not have the evidence to confirm the application of the Sharia during the Ayudhya period.

In terms of Islamic ideology, the Iranians were of the Shia sect, as Iran was the center of Shiism in the Muslim world. Important Shia rituals such as the Muharram to honor 'Ali', the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants, were performed regularly in Ayudhya. In fact it was in the context of such a ritual that the well-known King Narai instigated and successfully implemented a coup in A.D. 1656.⁶⁶ Though Thailand was a Buddhist country, the royal administration was generally tolerant and even supportive of the Muslim religious rites in this era. For example, several mosques were established at royal expense and the king contributed lavishly towards the Muharram and other Muslim rites.⁶⁷ There was, however, a split between official policy and practice regarding the proselytization of Islam in Thailand. According to an edict from the mid-seventeenth century, anyone allowing themselves or their kin to be converted to a foreign religion would be considered an enemy of the state. They could be imprisoned, have their property confiscated, or have other punitive measures taken towards them.⁶⁸ Yet, peculiarly enough, for some time during the Ayudhya period Thais who did convert to Islam were exempted from the *corvée*.⁶⁹ And as Ibrahim observed on his sojourn throughout the kingdom, there was some success in the spread of Shia doctrine among the Thais.⁷⁰

Hence, in most respects, the Iranian community had developed a fairly secure social and political niche in Ayudhya, and even had limited success in proselytizing Shiism. But this security would not persist into the eighteenth century, for with the entrance of the Western political and economic powers and their maneuverings, the Iranian community was set on a decline. This factor, in conjunction with internal dissension within the community as a consequence of incompetent leadership, weakened the political influence of the Iranians. Initially divisiveness and factionalism in the community may have been a result of the recruitment of a large number of Iranians from India to serve as a royal militia. These recruits were dissatisfied with the treatment given them by both the Thai royalty and the Iranian leadership.⁷¹ Regardless of the cause of the split in the ranks, it led to the candidacy of the Greek adventurer Constantine Phaulkon to the Phraklang. The exploits of this Phraklang are well known to Asian

64. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

65. Tibbets, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

66. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95; Ronald Smith, *Siam, or the History of the Thais 1569 A.D. to 1824 A.D.*, Bethesda, Maryland: Decatur Press, 1967, p. 57.

67. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 77; La Loubere, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Gervaise, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

68. Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

69. La Loubere, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

70. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

specialists, and they will not be recounted here.⁷² But it can be concluded that Phaulkon, in pursuing his own interests and European goals, did his utmost to work against the political and economic interests of the Iranian community.⁷³ Therefore the expansion of Western political and economic interests, combined with internal schisms within the Iranian community, led to the diminution of Muslim influence in central Thailand. Following this, many of the Iranian traders departed from Thailand, and others were deprived of their preeminent political positions.⁷⁴ Although the descendants of some of these Iranian Muslims were influential with respect to the Thai political scene, this Iranian Muslim community no longer had a decisive role in Thai economic and political affairs after the seventeenth century.

Due to the influential socioeconomic position of the Iranian Muslims in Ayudhyan society during the seventeenth century, Persian culture inevitably had an effect on the Thai Buddhist sociocultural heritage. Whereas the Thai sociopolitical structure was embryonic during this period, the Persian Muslims had migrated from a centralized kingdom which had been flourishing for centuries. Thai royalty was especially eager to learn about Iranian political life and court etiquette. Since many of the Iranians seem to have been connected to the royal or aristocratic class, they were able to describe in considerable detail the customs and practices of Iranian royalty and ruling techniques. Some of these Persian cultural influences have been treated popularly by *M.R. Kukrit*, and in a more scholarly fashion by *Direk Kusilsriswasd*. *Ibrahim* noted many of the details of this cultural 'diffusion' in his journal of the seventeenth century.

Persian intellectual influence on Thai royal affairs came through the translation or compilation of some Persian literature by a *khaek* noble who served in the Ayudhyan court.⁷⁵ This work in Thai is known as the *Iran Rajadhamma* or *Nithan Sibsawng Liam* ("Tale of the Twelve Angels"). The work of literature deals with courts, customs, and ruling techniques of ancient Iranian and Moghul kings. Much of it is drawn from the famed *Shanama* ("Book of Kings") of the medieval Persian poet Firdawsi. It was compiled in A.D. 1752 during the reign of King Boromoraja. *M.R. Kukrit* remarks that the Thai king would regularly have this Persian court literature read to him.⁷⁶ It is not inconceivable that Iranian and Shia concepts of legitimacy and divine right have had an impact on the Thai Buddhist institution of kingship.

All research concurs regarding the direct effect of Iranian custom on the dress of Thai royalty. As *Ibrahim* notes, King Narai wore Iranian dress with the customary dagger.⁷⁷

72. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-69; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-352; John F. Cady, *Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development*, New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1964, pp. 270-277; W.A.R. Wood, *A History of Siam, from the Earliest Times to the Year A.D. 1781, with a Supplement Dealing with More Recent Events*, Bangkok: Siam Barnakich Press, 1933, pp. 198-213.

73. *Ibrahim*, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Gervaise, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 95, 132; Maurice Collis, *Siamese White*, London: Faber and Faber, 1965, pp. 62-63.

74. *Ibrahim*, *op. cit.*, p. 111; La Loubere, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Gervaise, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

75. *Kulsiriswasd*, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-45.

76. *Pramoj*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

77. *Ibrahim*, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Evidently dietary patterns and culinary etiquette were copied from the Persian Muslims by the Thai royalty.⁷⁸ As evident from some Ayudhyan pagodas, artistic and architectural styles were borrowed from Persian forms. Some of the porcelain used in the pagodas was imported from Iran.⁷⁹

Indian Muslims

Muslim merchants from India also migrated to central Thailand during the Ayudhya period. As mentioned above there was a healthy trading relationship between India and Thailand. Evidently an important diplomatic connection was established between King Narai and the Moghul emperors; for at the National Museum in Bangkok there is a lacquer cabinet (the 'Louis/Aurangzeb Cabinet') which allegedly depicts Aurangzeb Alamgir, the famed Moghul emperor (A.D. 1658-1707), next to Louis XIV of France. Indian Muslim dominated the economic scene in Mergui (Tenasserim) which was part of Thai territory.⁸⁰ Ibrahim, in his journal, notes some of the Indian Muslims at Mergui were followers of the Shafii school of Islamic law, while others were Hanafi.⁸¹ Although good historical data do not exist regarding the Indian Muslims for this period, it appears that their numerical strength was limited.

Indonesian Muslims

A contingent of Indonesian Muslims also settled in central Thailand in the Ayudhya period. The conquest of the port of Macassar by the Dutch naval commander Cornelius Speelman in 1667 led to the migration of various political refugees.⁸² King Narai offered political asylum to an exiled prince of Macassar and his cohorts. Ibrahim describes this community on his visit in 1686.⁸³ Although no precise population data are referred to, these Macassar Muslims did reside in their own neighborhood or Ban of Ayudhya.⁸⁴ Like other Muslims of Indonesia and Malaysia they followed the prescriptions of the Shafii school of Islamic law and were Sunni. But Ibrahim also mentions non-Islamic magical practices and customary ritual dances that were important cultural features of this group. In A.D. 1686, a coup d'etat was sponsored and attempted by some members of the Macassarese community in Ayudhya against King Narai. Though Western sources and Ibrahim's account offer conflicting interpretations this historical episode, all sources agree that the Macassar community was decimated following the failure of the revolt.⁸⁵

Cham Muslims

Another group of Muslims who were settled in Ayudhya before the eighteenth century were from Cambodia. The Cambodian Muslims have a long history extending back to the

78. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

79. Pramoj, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

80. Collis, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 40.

81. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

82. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Cady, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

83. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136.

84. La Loubere, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

85. Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 207; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

Champa kingdom in what is present-day Viet Nam. The Champa kingdom flourished as a Hindu-Buddhist state from the second century A.D. until its defeat at the hands of the Annamese (southern Vietnamese) in A.D. 1471.⁸⁶ Although no precise date can be given for the appearance of Islam in Champa, it is clear that there were Arab and Persian settlements as early as the second half of the eighth century.⁸⁷ Middle Eastern traders had been traveling to China since the seventh century, so it is likely that Champa was an important intermediate node on this route between the two countries. Documents translated by M. Ravaise indicate that there was an urban center in Champa where some of these Muslims came to settle. They selected a "Seih es Suq", the "syndic of the marketplace", to represent them in the eyes of the local authorities. A "Sheik ul Islam", or Mufti, looked after their spiritual and religious needs, and a "Qadi" (Islamic judge) administered the Sharia.⁸⁸ The evidence suggests that this community of Muslims included merchants and artisans living in Champa in a self-contained social environment similar to the Persian Muslims of Ayudhya. But there is no historical evidence to suggest that Islam was adopted by the indigenous Cham population outside of these Arab-Persian communities.

It was not until after the collapse of Champa that Islam was accepted as a popular religion by the Chams. After the Annamese victory in A.D. 1491, Cham refugees fled to Malacca, Java and Cambodia. Afterwards Islam slowly took root among the Cham refugees, mainly through the influence of Malayan-Indonesian culture. Chams are the only sizable Malayo-Polynesian speaking group north of Malaya.⁸⁹ Consequently, the Chams had extremely close cultural ties with the Malaysian world. After the Cham refugees settled in Cambodia, many Malay Muslims went there and were successful in propagating Islam. Most of these refugees settled at Kampong Thom and Kampong Cham near the Mekong River, about 120 kilometers from present-day Phnom Penh.⁹⁰

It is not known how some of these Cham Muslims came to settle in Ayudhya. But from the evidence that exists it appears that they were primarily involved as military volunteers. The Cham volunteer corp was organized into a *krom* designated Krom Asa-Cham. The term *krom* usually is translated as "department" or "palace", "court" or "chamber".⁹¹ Krom Asa-Cham was subdivided into a left wing and a right wing, both under the command of Phraya Jawang, or Chang-Wang. The soldiers and officials of Krom Asa-Cham were classified to suit their respective positions within the Sakdi Na socio-political system as instituted by King Boromotrailokanat (Trailok) in the Laws of Civil and Military Hierarchy of A.D. 1454. The Sakdi Na system was a broadly devised scheme to supplement the maintenance of authority over and control of manpower in the Thai state. It was a structure of ranks or statuses with prescriptive dimensions which applied to every conceivable level in the society from common men and slaves to the senior princes of the realm. A key feature of the status arrangement was the quantification of status designations which

86. G. Maspero, *Kingdom of Champa*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949, pp. 1-54.

88. Fatimi, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

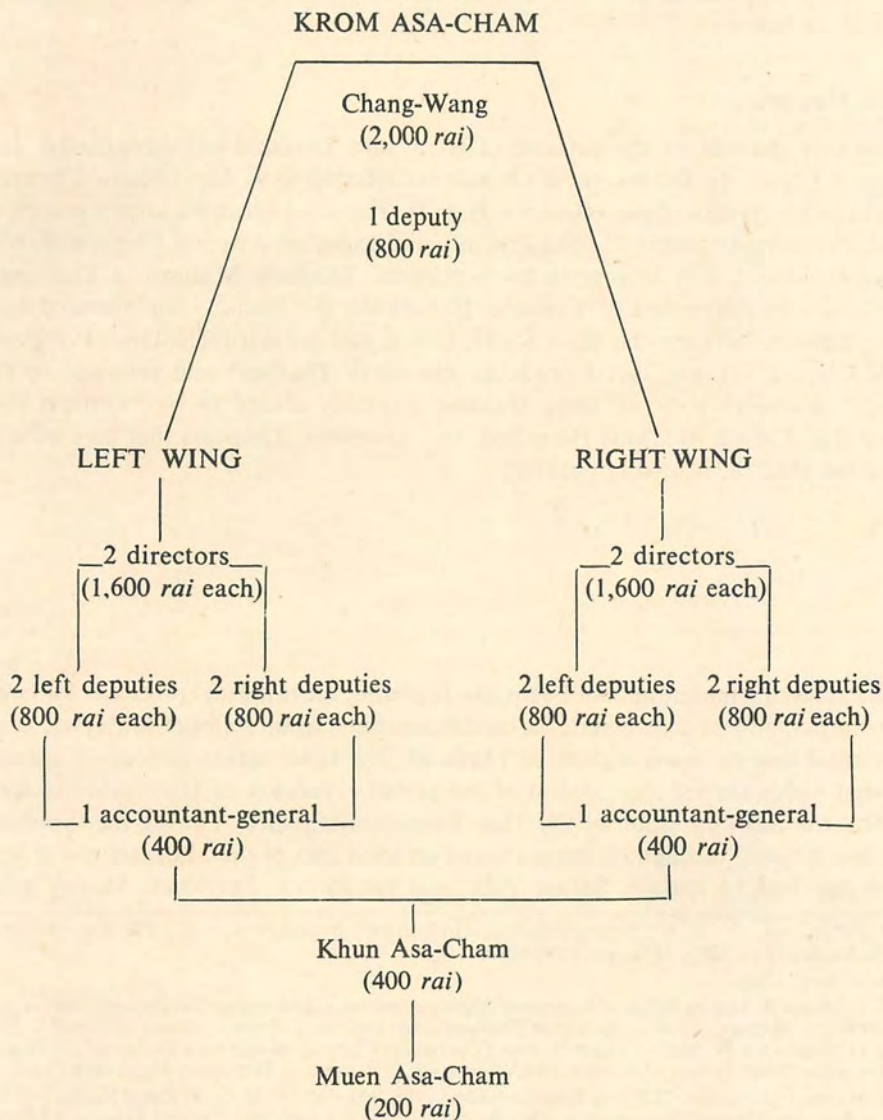
89. Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

89. Robbins Burling, *Hill Farms and Padi Fields: Life in Mainland Southeast Asia*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965, p. 121.

90. Donald P. Whitaker *et al.*, *Area Handbook for the Khmer Republic (Cambodia)*, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p. 73.

91. Tambiah, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

corresponded to royal land grants. Statures ranged from 100,000 for the Upparat (the highest government official), 10,000 for a minister, to 10-25 for a *phrai* (commoner), to 5 for a *that* (slave).⁹² The officials of Krom Asa-Cham were classified into the ranks shown in the following chart, listed with their allocated areas of land in units of *rai* (equivalent to 0.16 hectare).



92. Rabibhadana, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

In religious terms, though there was an early Shiite influence among the Chams, in general they subscribed to the form of Islam found in Malaysia.⁹³ That is, they were Sunni and followers of the Shafii legalistic school of thought. Historically the Chams of Cambodia were always inclined towards orthodoxy. This is in distinct contrast to the Chams who remained in the area of Viet Nam. These Vietnamese Chams refer to themselves as Muslims, but their ideology and practices diverged radically from normative Islamic doctrines.⁹⁴ The Chams in Ayudhya came from Cambodia and hence were probably more steadfast in respect to orthodox Islam.

Chinese Muslims

Another channel for the entrance of Islam into Thailand was through the 'Islamicized' portion of China. In Burma, these Chinese are referred to as Min Chia or Chinese Lisu, but most authorities refer to them as Chinese Haw.⁹⁵ The areas where the largest groups of Chinese Muslims were residing were Yunnan Province in the southwest part of China, and the Provinces of Shensi, Kamsu, and Sinking in the northwest. The Haw Muslims in Thailand originate from the southwestern part of Yunnan. Historically this ethnic group operated an expansive trading network between the Shan States, China, and northern Thailand. For example, they carried Chinese silk and metal products into north Thailand and returned to China with cotton.⁹⁶ Although some of these Muslims gradually settled in the northern Provinces of Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Mae Hong Son, and Lamphun, it appears that they were a transient population until the nineteenth century.

In explaining the entrance of Islam into Thailand, the historical processes for two divergent cultural areas must be considered: the insular southeast Asian states of Malaysia, and the mainland central and northern regions of Thailand. The Islamization of south Thailand must be evaluated within the broader context of the global expansion of Islam into insular southeast Asia and the transformation of the Thai 'bureaucratic polity'. During the thirteenth century Islam was diffused throughout the ports and principalities of the Malayan world including the present-day area of Pattani, Satun, Yala, and Narathiwat Provinces. Shortly after this the

93. Fatimi, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Anton Cabaton, "Indochina", in B. Lewis *et al.*, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971, pp. 1209-1210.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 1210.

95. Edmund R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 59; William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1957, p. 81; Frederick W. Mote, "The rural Haw (Yunnanese Chinese) of northern Thailand", in Peter Kunstadter (ed.), *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations*, vol. 2, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 490.

96. Michael Moerman, "Chiang Kham's trade in the 'old days'". in G. William Skinner and A. Thomas Kirsch (eds.), *Change and Persistence in Thai Society*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975, pp. 154-155; Suthep Soonthornpasuch, "Islamic identity in Chiang Mai City: a historical and structural comparison of two communities", unpubl. diss. (anthrop.), University of California, Berkeley, 1977, pp. 49-50.

Sukhodayan and Ayudhyan kingdoms became involved in the internal affairs of these Provinces, albeit in a limited way. Hanks, in a characterization of the Thai state previous to the Chakri era, likens the Thai political structure to a chain store, operating where it had affiliates.⁹⁷ Thus before the Bangkok period, the 'galactic polities' of Sukhodaya and Ayudhya were only loosely tied to their southern tributary Malay states. But as the Chakri kings established themselves in Bangkok and their kingdom expanded into a 'radial polity', political authority was exercised in a more direct way throughout the Islamic provinces. This process, coupled with the immigration of Thais from the north, cinched the full-scale incorporation of the southern domains.

Very different historical conditions apply to the Muslims of central Thailand. Although there were attempts at the proselytization of Islam on the part of Muslim migrants and visitors to central Thailand, they had very little success.⁹⁸ In contrast to the situation in Malaya and Indonesia, the establishment of Islam in central Thailand was due solely to immigration and intermarriage. The Iranian, Indian, Indonesian, and Cham Muslims settled in Ayudhya and at times intermarried with Thais to create the original nucleus of the Muslim population in the central Thai region.

The principal reasons for the relatively insignificant success in converting the majority of Thais to Islam in the central zone are similar to those proposed for Burma by Yegar.⁹⁹ First, geographically and commercially these areas, unlike insular southeast Asia, were not part of the major trading arc between southeast Asia and the Middle East. But perhaps more importantly, Buddhism had been adopted as the popular religion by a massive population in central Thailand, and it was not just the religious form adopted by a few virtuosos and a small elite.¹⁰⁰ This was in contrast to what was the prevailing cultural milieu in insular southeast Asia where Buddhism had become simply a 'high-status' religion. And Buddhism also had become institutionalized as the state religion during the Ayudhya period.¹⁰¹ Hence, Buddhism had apparently filled an ideological void in central Thailand as Islam had in Malaysia, Indonesia and the southern Philippines.

97. Lucien Hanks, "The Thai social order as entourage and circles", in G. William Skinner and A. Thomas Kirsch (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 209.

98. Gervaise, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

99. Yegar, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-28.

100. Charles F. Keyes, *The Golden Peninsula: Culture and Adaptation in Mainland Southeast Asia*, New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1977, p. 82.

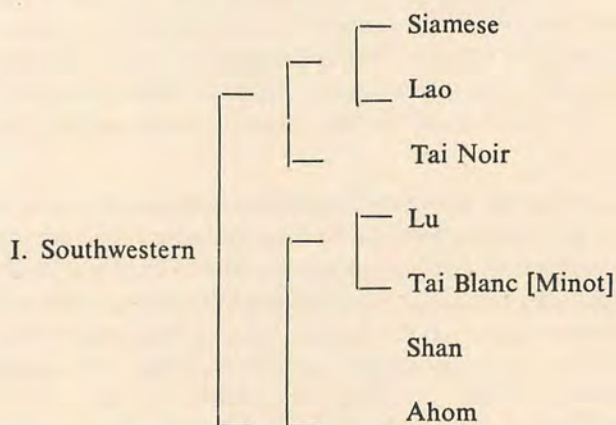
101. Wales, *cp. cit.*, p. 131.

A MODEL FOR THE ALIGNMENT OF DIALECTS IN SOUTHWESTERN TAI

by

JOHN F. HARTMANN*

This article is an exercise in linguistic geography encompassing the region of Southwestern Tai, the term used by F.K. Li (1959) in his work on the classification of Tai languages. In Li (1960) there is a concluding sketch of the subdivisions within Southwestern Thai that is of note. Redrawn, it looks like the one below.

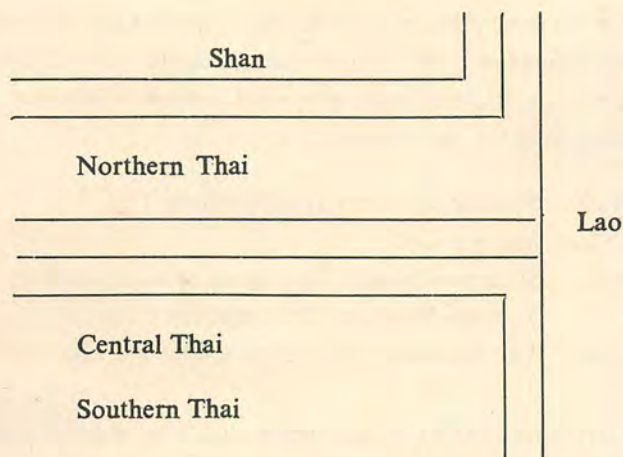


While it is only a rough sketch for which the details had not yet been worked out, it is interesting to see the close connection between Siamese and Lao clearly drawn.

Perhaps the next most significant attempt at subcategorization of Southwestern Thai was the work of Brown (1965). He used two diagrams, one showing mutual intelligibility and another diagramming the lines of historical development of the modern dialects from an ancient source in Yunnan. His picture of degrees of similarity between modern dialects appears as follows. The fewer the number of lines between dialects indicates greater "contact type similarities".

Brown's chart is designed to show rough geographical relationships as well as degrees of mutual intelligibility. Accordingly, as a measure of degree of contact, Lao is only once removed from Northern Thai but twice from Central and Southern. Central Thai is thrice removed from Northern and five times from Shan, etc.

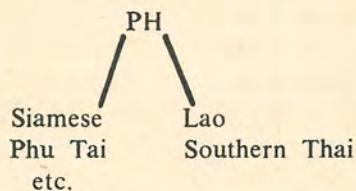
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In the reference sheets to the same work, Brown offers a sketch of the 'family tree' (p. 179) of modern Thai dialects, wherein it is shown that Shan and Central Thai, contrary to what appears in his diagram of contact similarities, are from an earlier Chieng Saen branch while Lao emerged as an offshoot of a Yunnan parent, the sister of the Chieng Saen branch *ca.* 1150 A.D. According to the same genealogy, too complex to replicate here, Southern Thai broke off even earlier, separating from a Yunnanese sister language *ca.* 950 A.D. History and geography do not coincide in Brown's scheme, and he is careful to point this out.

Since—and even before—Brown published his reconstruction of ancient Thai, most scholars have rejected the hypothesis of a Yunnan homeland for the parent language. It is generally accepted now that the origin of Proto-Tai is somewhere in the region around the border of the north of Viet Nam and China. Thus, it is all the more appropriate that Li gave the label "Southwestern" to the dialects under study here. It indicates the general direction of the migration of the Tai peoples: west and south, over a fan-shaped area.

A more recent classification of Southwestern Tai in Chamberlain (1975) shows still another set of permutations between Siamese, Lao and Southern Thai. In it a clear Lao-Southern Thai link is established in opposition to a separate branch for Siamese and other dialects. Accordingly:



In view of the foregoing, we might pause to ask a question which brings a focus, or at least a beginning point, to the study of the alignment of dialects in Southwestern Tai. With Siamese (Central Thai) as the focal point, we might ask where it stands *vis-à-vis* surrounding dialects. In Haas (1958), for example, the tonal system of Siamese is regarded as a reduction of

the Chiangmai array, but "in most other respects Siamese and Nakhon-Sithammarat are much closer than Siamese and Chiangmai". We can now summarize the views of four linguists on the relationship of Siamese to other dialects, bearing in mind that each author used quite different approaches. In chronological order, the arguments are:

- Haas: Siamese-Southern Thai/Northern Thai
 Li: Siamese-Lao
 Brown: Siamese-Southern Thai (geographical, contact)
 Siamese-Northern Thai (genetic)
 Chamberlain: Lao-Southern Thai; Siamese-Phu Tai, etc.

Turning now to Hartmann (1976a), it was shown that Lao, Siamese and Southern Thai were one continuous group standing in opposition to the remaining dialects to the north, further divided into two major subgroups. The three major divisions were arrived at primarily by using Haudricourt's notion of bipartition and tripartition, reinforced by other phonological changes held in common. Accordingly, areas that underwent two-way and then three-way splitting allow us to "understand not only Bangkok Thai but the Lao dialects (including Northeastern Thai) and those of southern Thailand as well. These three areas have all participated in tripartition..." (p. 47).

Points within the three dialect areas were then listed. They included areas outside of the Southwestern Tai zone as well.

I. **Zone of tripartition:** High vs. Mid vs. Low
 (Siamese written consonants)

	A	B	C		Found in:
ph				High	Luang Prabang Loei Vientiane
p, b				Mid	Roi Et Ubon Khorat
ph				Low	Bangkok Chumphon Sack

A more detailed view of determining the patterns of tonal splitting in modern dialects of Tai is provided by the following display. It is based on the matrix developed by Gedney (1964, 1973). The only refinement added is a fifth division, following Li (1977).

*INITIALS	PROTO-TAI TONES					
	A	B	C	D-s	D-l	
*VL						
Aspirated voiceless stops *ph-*th-*kn-*ch-*h-						-----
Voiceless continuants *s-*f-*hm-*hn-*h-ŋ*hñ- *hw*-*hr-*hl-						High
Unaspirated voiceless stops *p-*t-*k-*c-						----- -----
Glottalized consonants *ʔb-*ʔd-*ʔy-*ʔ						Mid
*VD						-----
Voiced consonants *b-*d-*g-*j*m-*n- *ŋ-*ñ-*z-*v-*ɣ-*r- *l-*w-*y-						----- ----- Low

Key: A B C = Proto-Tai tones on smooth syllables, i.e. those ending in a vowel, nasal or glide.
D-s D-l = dead-short vowel; dead-long vowel. A dead or checked syllable ends in a stop:
-p -t -k -ʔ

High, Mid, Low = classes of modern Siamese initial consonants as defined in the writing system.

*VL *VD = voiceless / voiced initials at the time of bifurcation.

According to this chart, bifurcation or two-way splitting divides the three PT tones A, B, C into six, along the lines *vd (voiced) versus *vl (voiceless initials at the time of the split). Or, following the Siamese writing system, the two-way split puts the High-Mid in one class and the Low in another as determinants of modern tones.

Similarly, trifurcation or three-way splitting, in the case of the Lao-Siamese-Southern Thai group at least, divides the initials along the lines of High, Mid, Low, thus creating a possible maximum of nine tones on live or smooth syllable. No modern dialect of course has this many tones. Various tones (allotones at the early stage of the split) collapsed to reduce the number to as many as seven in Southern Thai and a few as four in Northeastern Thai.

The geographic spread of the dialects in Southwestern Tai that appear to have trifurcated cover the southernmost or lowest region of the Southwestern domain. Henceforth this group of dialects shall be referred to as Lower Southwestern Tai. Later, we shall see that there is a Middle and Upper Southwestern Tai group.

In addition to their having undergone a common tripartition, the dialects of Lower Southwestern Tai hold at least two other phonological changes in common. First is the progression of **vd* > *vl* (stage I) > aspirates (stage II). The second change is a lengthening of vowels, a process which appears to be of recent entry and is spreading northward into the Middle Southwestern Tai group at least. The emergence of the modern Low aspirate series from **voiceless consonants* is viewed here as the mechanism for triggering tripartition. That is, as the High (**aspirated voiceless stops*) and the Low aspirates began to merge in the modern Lower Southwestern dialects, homophony had to be avoided. This could be achieved by a reinterpretation of the tones in the High series to carry a new functional load lost in the merger of the High and Low aspirates. In summary, the progression from bipartition to tripartition and vowel lengthening appears as a feeding relation.

1. **vd* > *vl* (stage I)
2. Bipartition: High-Mid vs. Low
3. *vl* > Low aspirates (stage II)
4. Tripartition: High vs. Mid vs. Low
5. Vowel lengthening

Vowel lengthening is viewed as a subsequent development in Southwestern Tai. Quite possibly it is not involved in the obvious feeding relationship expressed in steps 1 to 4, and may have preceded or accompanied step 4. Following Li (1977), vowel length was not distinctive in Proto-Tai.

Following the argument in Brown (1965), the Lower Southwestern Tai dialects are viewed as having reached a contour stage in their development. In turn this has led to step 5 or vowel lengthening in these dialects. For further discussion of step 5 see Hartmann (1976b). The historical development of the Tai vowel system is detailed in Sarawit (1973) and Li (1977).

If it is granted that Lower Southwestern Tai can be defined by using the preceding five steps, it should be possible to draw an isogloss separating the Lower group from the remaining Southwestern dialects. Map 1 (at end of article) shows the line of demarcation. The line is really a 'floating' isogloss. By that it is meant that it may need adjustment as new data come in, or as correction of errors and omissions is called for. Too, as a geo-linguistic frontier, it is a zone of great change and variation, especially as regards vowel length.

For example, Egerod (1971) describes a great deal of variation of vowel length in Northern Thai just north of the isogloss. Mundhenk (1967), in a study of the same general region, registers discomfort about vowel length, too. Finally, to the east in northern Laos, Gedney (1964) reports similar misgivings about vowel length in Red Tai, which is just above the isogloss. He states:

The list of Red Tai vowels is the same as for Black Tai. At this early stage of the investigation, however, it is not certain whether there is a distinction in vowel length in other vowels than /a/ versus /aa/ . . . The question is whether this [over-all vowel-length distinction] is really a Red Tai distinction or the result of contamination from Lao.

As we go north into northern Shan, Lue of Chieng Rung, White, Red and Black Tai, phonemic vowel length is definitely lost except for some small pockets. The data on vowel length suggest an isogloss between Lower and Middle-Upper Southwestern Tai just slightly north of the isogloss for the area of tripartition. Quite possibly, in some areas this isogloss for vowel length distinction could be allowed to float southward in some areas. For a look at its approximate position, see map 2.

We can now return to a more detailed discussion of delimiting dialect areas in Southwestern Tai based on bi- and tri-partition. The area of the latter has already been shown; the bulky evidence for calling this a zone of tripartition is presented toward the end of this article.

Here we begin to deal with the area of bipartition and a variant of bipartition, both of which represent separate subgroups of Southwestern Tai which I label Upper and Middle Southwestern Tai, respectively.

Simple bipartition can safely be assumed to have affected all branches and dialects of the Tai language family at some point in their history. In modern dialects this two-way split is preserved in the uppermost geographic reaches of Southwestern Tai, extending from western and northern varieties of Shan through Lue of Sipsongpanna and the Red, White and Black Tai mentioned earlier. The same type of simple bipartition extends even farther eastward through Western Nung, Nung, Lung Chao, Ning Ming, Wuming, dialects of Puyi South and Chuang. But for Southwestern Tai the following dialects are representative of the geographical spread, from east to west.

Bipartition: *vl versus *vd as found in:

	A	B	C	
ph				High
p, b				Mid
<hr/>				
p				Low

Red Tai
Black Tai
White Tai
Lue Chieng Tung (Li)
Lue Chieng Rung
Shan (north)

Lastly, the group of Middle Southwestern Tai groups shows a pattern of tonal array that is considered here a variant or minor adjustment of the bipartite Upper type. The pattern is displayed below alongside dialects representative of the geographical coverage.

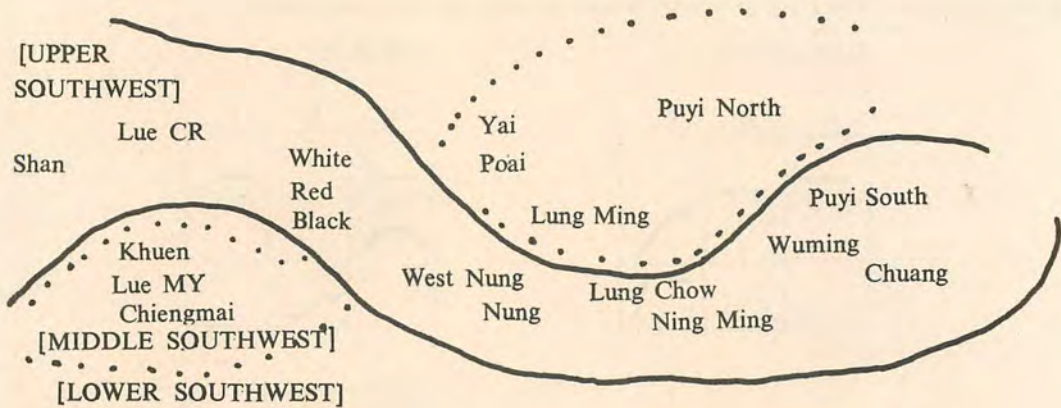
*vl friction and aspirates *versus*
 *preglottalized and voiced consonants
Variant bipartition: found in:

Shan Kengtung
 Khuen Kengtung
 Lue Moeng Yong
 Chiengrai
 Chiengmai
 Nan, Phrae
 Phayao, Tak

	A	B	C	
ph				High
p				Mid
b				
p				Low

It can be argued, as Haudricourt indeed does, that dialects of the Middle Southwestern type represent a three-way split rather than a variant of a two-way split. That point will not be contested here. It is only a minor point in this stage of the argument. The point at which the initials divide in the Middle group affects but few items in that it cuts across the A column only and moves only four initials into the *vd tonal category: *?b- *?d- *?y- *?. In this light, a split of this variety can be considered a minor adjustment of an original *vl/*vd split to account for the loss of a distinctive feature (pre-glottalization) in the series. Also, the Middle group did not participate in step 3, which was viewed as the mechanism triggering trifurcation. Vowel lengthening, step 5, where it does appear in the Middle group seems to be a recent innovation due most likely to the spread of Central Thai into the urban centers of northern Thailand. Finally, for the sake of convenience and clarity in later discussion of the case for tripartition in Lower Southwestern Thai, the Middle Southwestern Thai group is kept separate.

A split of the Mid class initials which may be related to the one found in Middle Southwestern Tai is also found in Yai, Poai, Lung Ming, and Puyi North. The details are presented in Hartmann (1976a). Here we merely note the connection and the relation of the Upper and Middle Southwestern Thai dialects to dialects to the east that show a similar history of tonal splits.



The dialects of Upper and Middle Southwestern Tai have split along the clearest lines. There seems to be little doubt about the unity of these two subgroups if examined from the standpoint of tonal splits. However, when we are pressed to demonstrate the unity of the Lower Southwestern group or Lao-Siamese-Southern Thai, the patterns of tonal development are not all that transparent. We proceed to examine the evidence presented in Hartmann (1976a) and Li (1977).

The clearest evidence of tripartition in Lower Southwestern Tai comes from the Southern Thai dialect at Nakhorn Sri Thammarat as recorded by Brown (1964) at dialect point 68. The three-way split runs completely through the three PT tones A B C. His chart shows that coalescence has taken place between B-C High and B-C Low, thus reducing the maximum of nine possible modern tones to seven. Only slightly different is the dialect at Yala, which has collapsed three allotones into one modern tone; the other six fill the remaining six cells. The tonal arrays of the two Southern dialects adapted from Brown (1964) appear below.

NAKORN SRI THAMMARAT

A	B	C

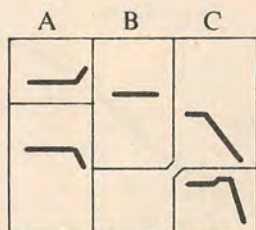
YALA

A	B	C	
			High
			Mid
			Low

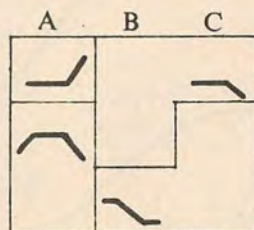
When we move into the Central Thai or Siamese region and look at the Bangkok tonal array, tripartition is not as immediately apparent. However, if we put the Bangkok array alongside the not-too-distant and mutually intelligible dialects of Khorat, Roi-Et and Ubon, a pattern of a three-way split followed by idiosyncratic arrangements for coalescence in each

dialect emerges. They are drawn by Brown approximately as seen below.

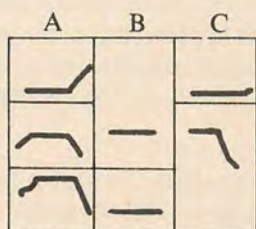
BANGKOK



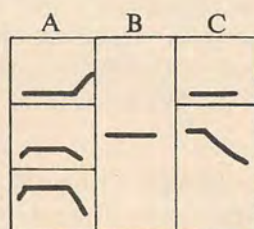
KHORAT



ROI-ET



UBON



It is especially illuminating to compare the A column of Bangkok with that of Roi-Et. Thanks to Brown's highly trained ear and commendable service of actually drawing out tonal contours, it appears that Roi-Et column A with its three-way split is beginning to resemble Bangkok A. Roi-Et's A-Mid and A-Low, both falling contours, seem to be verging close to coalescence, a process the Bangkok dialect went through at some earlier stage after tripartition.

From Bangkok to Vientiane and the northern limit of Southwestern Tai at Luang Prabang, there is also a shared development of a preference for coalescence in the B column, either B-Mid+High or B-Mid+High+Low, in the form of a register (Mid level) tone rather than a contour.

Similarly, A-High in these dialects shows a tendency toward a rising tone. Contrary to sentiments voiced by some students of comparative Tai, the actual shapes of tones can provide highly illuminating information on the development of tones in Tai dialects. Brown's presentation of his data, with charts showing individually drawn tonal shapes, is a model which should be emulated by all Tai field linguists.

Last and most perplexing, or perhaps least convincing, is the Luang Prabang dialect itself. It has the peculiar distinction of showing a split of A and C High versus A and C Mid+Low, leaving the B column untouched, i.e. with a single tone. At first glance, the Luang Prabang array looks like a simple bipartition, a flip-flop of the usual two-way split. A second, closer look reveals that it is instead a trifurcated dialect that has gone through the usual five steps

outlined earlier, but for which traces of steps 1 and 2 are all but lost. It is necessary to remember that bifurcation was defined as separating the PT voiced series from the rest of the PT initials as determinants of the first tonal split. It was axiomatic that all dialects had undergone the two-way split. Tripartition is the second-stage tonal split which effectively separates the High class initials from the remaining initials, which is exactly what the Luang Prabang dialect has done. Once this has been done, there really is no need to maintain the line separating the Low from the Mid class initials. In a sense, the Luang Prabang dialect is very modern in choosing to erase the bottom line.

Whether or not the changes common to Lower Southwestern Tai proceeded along the neat five-fold path as is pretended here, the delimitation of Lower Southwestern Tai as a geographical dialect area still stands. The isogloss in map 1 running through Tak, Loei, Luang Prabang and Sam Neua is a reasonably real, albeit rough, northern limit of a Lower Southwestern Tai domain.

Since the appearance of the model for the alignment of dialects in Southwestern Tai in Hartmann (1976a), Fang Kuei Li's publication *A Handbook of Comparative Tai* has appeared (1977). Much of the opening part of this volume, which will undoubtedly become a classic in comparative Tai studies, is devoted to the classification of dialects along the lines of tonal splits. It is clear that the divisions made by Li (1977) support the model presented in Hartmann (1976a) and revised slightly in this article, along with an elaboration of the feeding relationship involved in the five steps in the changes that predominate in Southwestern Tai. Li's division of Tai dialects allows us to equate his dialect types I, II, III for the Southwestern Tai group with our labels Upper, Middle and Lower Southwestern Tai, respectively.

Reviewing very briefly, in Li (1977) we find the following dialects representative of type I, or Upper Southwestern Tai:

Lue (Li), White Tai (Donaldson), Black Tai (Gedney),
Sam Neua (Simmonds), Tak Bai (Brown #79), Shan (Cushing),
Red Tai (Gedney), Phu Thai (Brown).

For type II, or Middle Southwestern Tai, we find the following in Li (1977):

Chiangmai (Haas, Egerod, etc.), Chiengrai (Brown), Prae (Simmonds, Brown),
Payao (Simmonds), Tak (Simmonds), Khuen (Egerod).

Type III in Li (1977) includes the remaining dialects of Laos and northeast Thailand, and Central Thai and Southern Thai. Li states on page 49:

Dialects showing systems of Type III are found only in Laos and Thailand, and seem to form a subgroup of dialects among the Southwestern group. From the typology of their tonal development, we may arrange the different subtypes in a hierarchical order which perhaps has significance in terms of historical development and geographical distribution.



The tree sketched above is only a rough approximation of the one presented in Li (1977) showing the hierarchical order of dialects in Lower Southwestern Tai. Our approach has been a strictly geographic one. With this in mind, a cartogram of the dialects within Southwestern Tai has been prepared (at end of article).

A few words concerning the major geographical boundaries found in the Southwestern Tai region are appropriate here.

First, the major geographical divide that appears to separate Lower Southwestern Tai from Central and Upper is the foothills that mark the beginning of the uplands where the Chao Phraya Valley (Central Plains) and the Lower Mekong River Valley end.

Next in significance is undoubtedly the Mekong River itself. In the Central Mekong region, Yunnan Province in particular, the River clearly serves as a border between dialects of Shan, Nuea, Khamti on the west and the closely related dialects of Lue, White and Black Tai on the east.

Not to be overlooked is the Khorat Plateau which effectively divides Northeastern and Central Thai.

There are socio-political determinants of subdialects within Southwestern Tai as well. In Laos proper, there are at least three subdialects that focus on the capitals of the north, center and the south.

In this paper, we have reviewed and compared the arguments for the alignment of subdivisions within Southwestern Tai as presented in Hartmann (1976) and Li (1977). It was shown that three major subdivisions of dialects covering distinct and continuous geographical areas can be delimited on the basis of common patterning of the splitting up of the PT tones *A B C. In the model presented in this paper, the three subdialects have been labeled Upper, Middle and Lower Southwestern Tai for areas which are designated by Li (1977) as I, II, III, respectively.

Going a step beyond a taxonomy of subdialects, the groups were viewed as having undergone a series of changes described as a process of feeding relationships. To wit, the dialects of Upper and Middle Southwestern Tai have undergone bipartition, while those of Lower Southwestern Tai have undergone tripartition as part of their separate histories. For the latter, in particular, tripartition was triggered by the final step in the series of changes in the initial stops: *vd > vl > asp. The process is an orderly one where bipartition must precede tripartition.

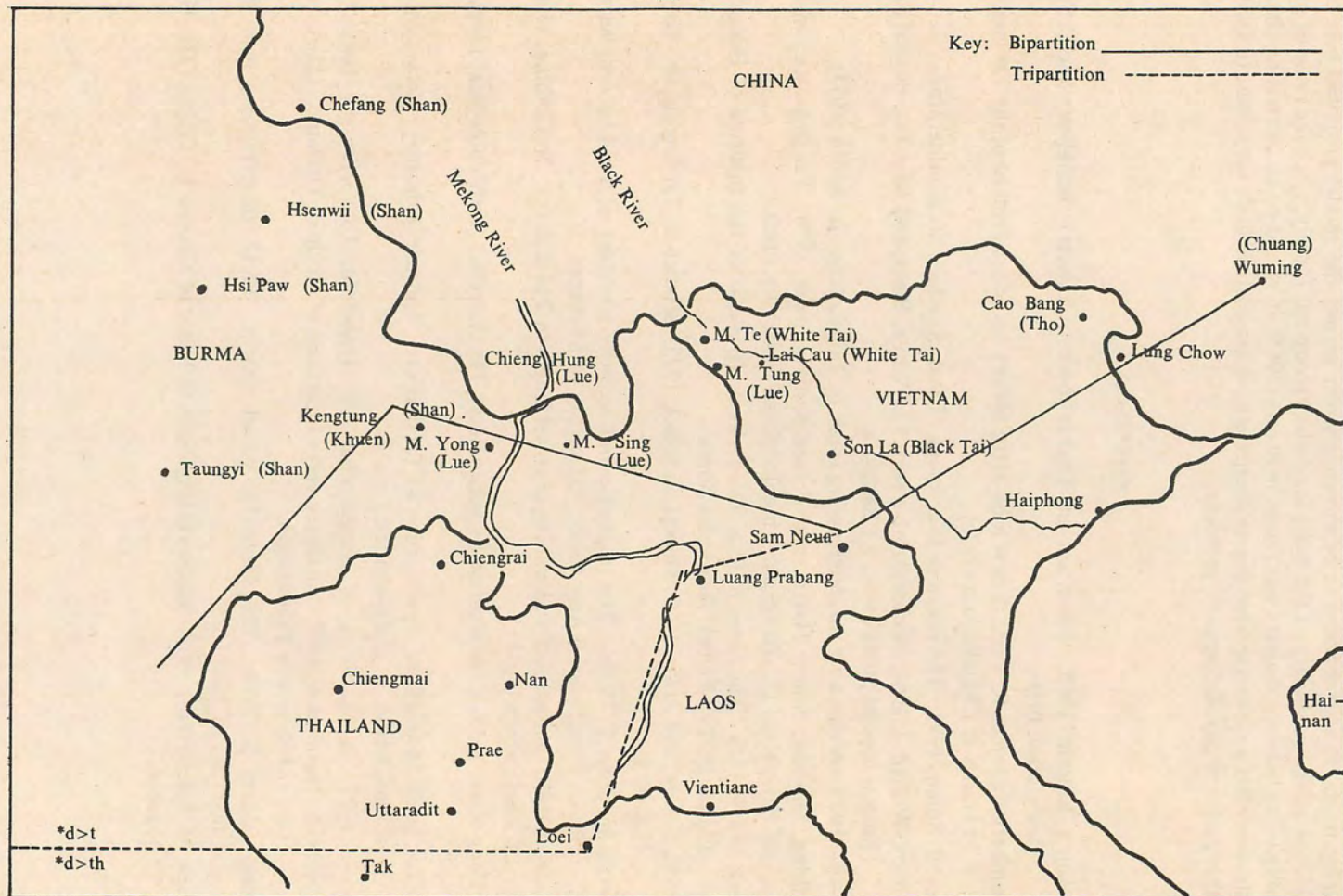
Several implications for future research might be drawn from this exercise in linguistic geography. The same three divisions that apply to Southwestern Tai alone might be shown

later to extend to the whole of the Tai language family, or at least one aspect of its historical development. It also remains to be shown whether or not the model proposed here can be validated using vocabulary as the basis for dialect grouping. Finally, since the issue of mutual intelligibility between dialects was raised in Brown (1965), it would be an interesting challenge to show in what ways and to what degree comparative-historical methods contribute to a solution to this practical psycholinguistic problem.

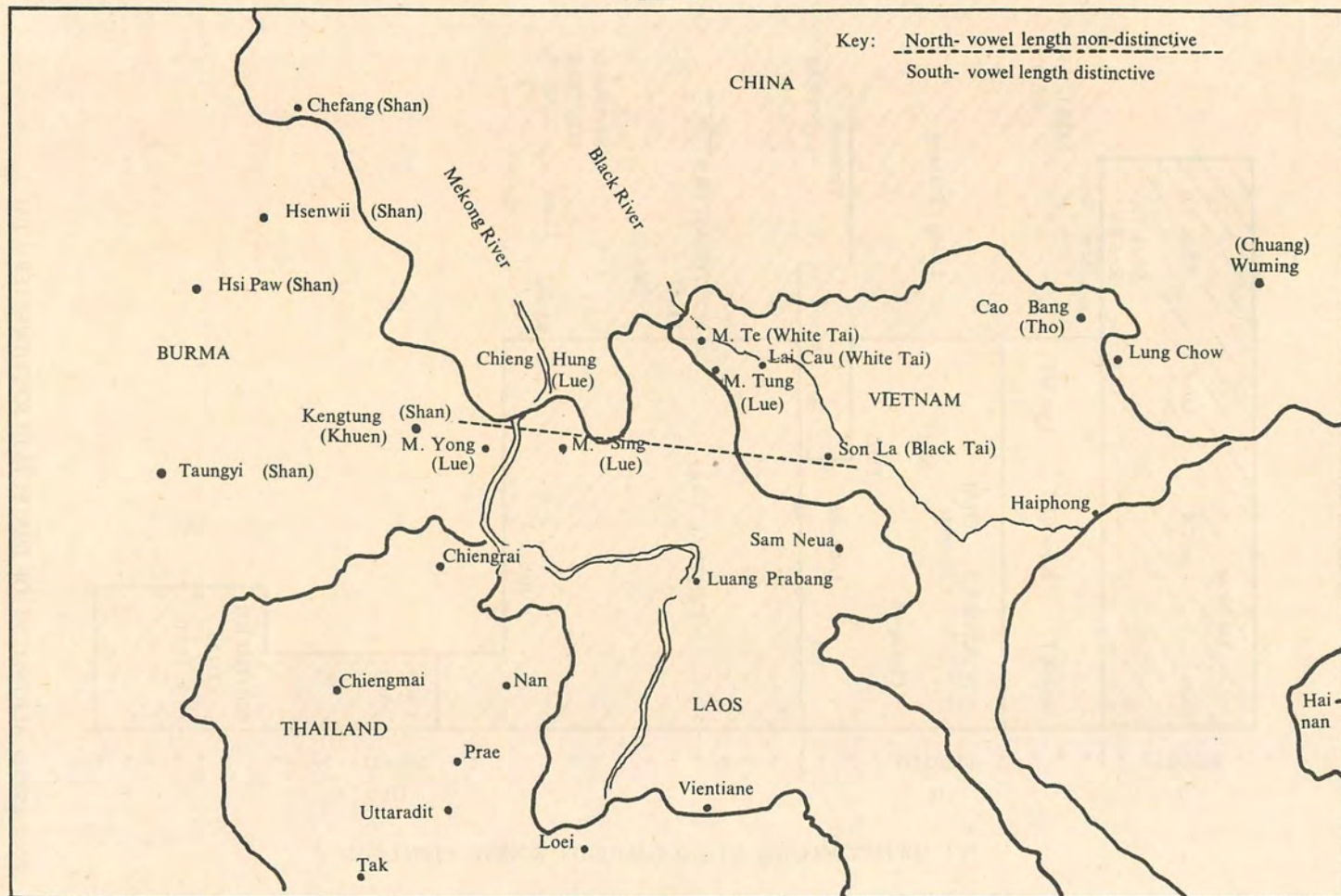
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MAP 1

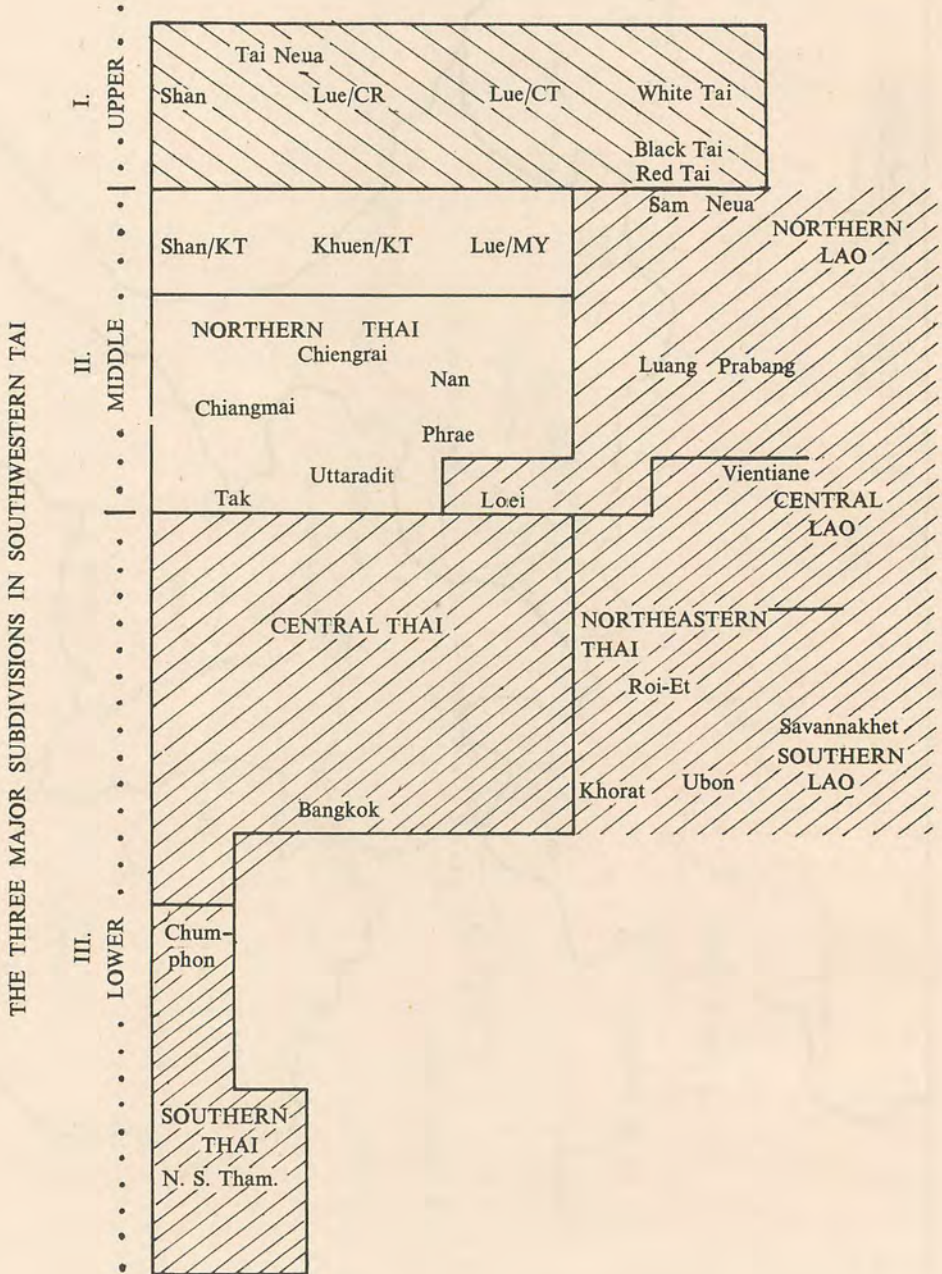


MAP 2



John F. Hartmann

CARTOGRAM



SUGGESTED ALIGNMENT OF DIALECTS IN SOUTHWESTERN TAI

SOME SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE LAWĀ (NORTHWESTERN THAILAND):

PART III

by

H. E. KAUFFMANN*

Part III concludes the report on ethnographic material collected on three different visits to the Umphāi group of villages of the Lawā, in northwestern Thailand, and on the first anthropological survey of the northern Lawā. Part I of the report appeared in volume 60 part 1 (January 1972) of this journal; part II appeared in volume 65 part 1 (January 1977). These parts of the report are referred to in notes in the following text as 'I' and 'II', respectively. A glossary of principal terms mentioned and a bibliography are appended.

3. Death rites

(a) The funeral of an adolescent boy

In the evening of 7 February 1964 we had just had our meal and were preparing for the night, intending to leave our quarters, the ritual house (*nyoe' nyū*) of Bān (B.) Yāēg, early the next morning, when suddenly cries came from the direction of Omphāi Luang. A man swinging a torch passed running by and shouted to us that somebody had died in the last house up north-west. It was *Nāi Gāeo*, a 15-year-old boy who had died of an unknown fever. While to the people it was a very sad event, it was also a rather rare occasion for the ethnologist to observe the ceremonies and rites in a case of death. So we delayed our departure until the burial was over. Because of the youth and poverty of the dead boy, as well as his status of not being a *samang* (although his mother was a *samang*) and not being married, we could not expect more than the ordinary ritual, a "small custom" funeral (Kunstadter 1968: 29); only an adult man of merit and good standing, descended from a well-to-do *samang* family, would receive the full honours at his death: a "big custom" funeral.

Wailing. We set out in a hurry to the deceased boy's house and heard from afar the monotonous wailing and crying of women according to custom. The single small room of the house was packed with people, relatives and friends, sitting closely around the corpse; but I did not enter. I dare say that there is a limit, even to a scholar most eager for knowledge, to obtruding on the people and hurting their feelings. On two later occasions, it proved right to have been discreet. But our guide *Khun* Suchāt, as a man from the country, took a look inside, and saw five women wailing (Lawā: *lāe*) near the corpse which still was lying dressed in daily attire on the floor. The guide said the five women had come from five different villages; they wailed

*Photos were taken by the author, excepting figures 52, 59, 60 (by M.C. Sanidh Rangsit, Bangkok) and figures 69, 70, 72 (by Hans Obländer, Bangkok). Drawings are by 'Shudhi' Chatterjee of Calcutta: figures 42 b, 49, 50, 54, 65 a and b, 88-99; and by Wolfgang Meyn of Munich: figures 61, 62, 77-82 a.

without tears, and even laughed in between.¹

Rather late, more than one hour after the death, the big gong and the drums resounded from the ritual house of B. *Ōmphāi Luang* (figs. 38, 39). At this sign all the people came to the house of the dead. Drums and gongs were to be beaten still more often during the following two days. Srisawasdi (1963: 187) writes that a big gong hung in the corner of the terrace is beaten continuously "with a loud din". Also in B. Pae' the gong is only beaten in a case of death. In B. Pā Pāē (Kunstadter: 1968), to the contrary, such an accidental drumming and gonging does not exist, seeming to be more or less strictly regulated. Many other remarks affirm that there the gong is beaten three times at the beginning and ending of certain events or rites.

Removal of the house door. The door of the house was put up horizontally at the side of the open terrace. It must be taken off until the burial is over (fig. 40) and replaced thereafter. A *talaeo* (Lawā: *talia*) for the door spirit was fixed on it to keep other spirits away (II: 218). According to Kunstadter (1968: 19) in B. Pā Pāē the door must be removed, as should be the tray over the front fireplace, "in order to make room for the large crowd, and to make it easier to come in and out of the house". The fireplace tray is thrown away, but the door is replaced after burial. Young men were sitting there laughing, chatting and smoking. They also renewed the cord for hanging a gong which had a diameter of 70 cm.

The hē. Then followed a highly interesting and never-before-mentioned act. On the terrace were standing two *hē*, pots filled with rice chaff covered with leaves; into each of them was stuck a 15-cm-high bamboo splinter having the shape of a V-spiral (fig. 41). The spirals were 12 cm wide from one side to the other. The same form, which reminds of the chest tattoo of eastern Naga tribes in the Patkoi Range of Assam, India (now autonomous Nagaland) and other tribes (cf. Carl Schuster 1952), is to be found painted on the lower end of a western post in the ritual house and carved on the *sagang la'* both in B. *Ōmphāi Luang* (cf. "Art: Megalithic influences", below).

These *hē* were said to be brought later to the ritual house and put up there, but I never saw them in that place. Local opinions on their significance were divided. In B. *Ōmphāi Luang* they said it should remind the dead to recognize his cups and other belongings among many in the land of the dead. They also like to use soot to draw designs as reminders. More truth seems to be in the explanation that the *hē* should advise the dead he may not return, and should go to the Lawā village below the earth in the west where the dead lead the same life as before on earth. This idea might be acceptable as we shall see later when other devices for keeping the dead from coming back are related.

Neither explanation was confirmed, and the men of B. *Chāngmō Nōi* and B. *Chāngmō Manōd* rejected the first one. They said it is not a sign of recognition but simply of practical use for squeezing in a torch, and in fact, the same shape is made for this purpose out of iron

1. Obayashi (1966: 252/53) saw only two wailing women at the death of a 32-year-old man in B. *Ōmphai Luang* in April 1963, but they as well as the mourning people were sitting in the same order as we have seen it. Kunstadter (1968: 17) observed at the death of a 2-year-old boy in B. Pā Pāē in December 1966: "When he is pronounced dead, there is an immediate loud wailing from the women in attendance." In B. La'ub they said that all young people must go *yūeam-lāē lāē* or else pay a fine of 5 baht per day. On wailing see Grambo (1971).

in B. Hō', B. Khōng, and possibly other villages. My opinion is, however, if ever they make V-spirals of iron for attaching their torches, which I have never seen, this practical purpose has nothing to do with the small and fragile *hē* on the dead man's terrace. I firmly believe that there is a meaning they kept secret and did not let us penetrate, an identical attitude as with the "death game" (cf. *tarē*, section c). Still, in a culture where the buffalo sacrifice plays such an eminent role, I tentatively suggest that the V-shape of the *hē* could be symbolic for *bovine bucrania* as shown in Červíček (1976: 247, fig. 20) of a rock engraving from the Hamasén region, Eritrea.

Cross in a winnowing basket. A boy painted hastily with betel lime a somewhat slanting cross in a flat winnowing basket which seems to be an abbreviation of the design used for the "death game". The *gorid* Ling strewed some rice upon the cross, and murmuring invocations he poured some alcohol on the ground. The winnowing basket is used to contain the food for the dead. At burial it is put down at the grave. In B. Pā Pāē it does not exist.

Duration of the wake. The wake in the Umphāi group of villages may last from three to seven days, according to the prestige or wealth of the dead. In B. Sām corpses of very old men stay seven days, adults five days, and children three days. In B. Mūēd Lōng the period is five days if one or two buffaloes are sacrificed, but nine days if there is (a very rare) sacrifice of four buffaloes. In B. Pā Pāē the corpse might stay in the house from three to nine days (Kunstadter 1968: 19). It must always be an odd number of days, but mostly it is not more than three (cf. table 7).

After death in B. Mūēd Lōng (I: 292), B. Gōg Nōi, B. Hō' and B. Khōng the *gorid* must call to the *phī sabaig* in the ritual house: "one of your people has died and now we bury him"; then he will say how many days the body is to be kept in the house. Probably this rite is executed in all the northern Lawā villages.

Lying in state. In the morning of 8 February 1964, reckoned as the first of the three wake days, the burial apparently having been projected for the 10th, the dead boy was firmly wrapped in a red-and-black-checked cloth and bound with white cotton cord in four places (head, feet and two places in between; figs. 42a, 42b). In B. Pā Pāē old men tie legs and arms (Kunstadter 1968: 20).² He was lying along the small side of the house with his head in a northern direction

2. Turner (1971: 49) writes of the North Thai that hands, feet, and knees are bound. "A satang coin is put into the mouth... a pre-Buddhist practice to help the spirit pay his way" (p. 50). "During the wake there is laughing and joking, playing games and eating." According to Le May (1925: 167) the Lue in northeastern Thailand tie the hands as well as the feet together with white thread. Flowers, candles and a boat, moulded of wax, are placed in the dead man's hands. "The boat is supplied to carry him across the vast Ocean of Eternity, and to help him escape from the relentless Wheel of Life." This reminds of a *tung*, a small wooden stand I have seen put up at the side of a dead person in a *wat* of B. Bō Luang; seven small wooden 'oars' were hanging from it with which to row over that ocean (Kauffmann, 1968: 292).

The Mon, as Halliday says (1922: 30), put a chew and a piece of money into the mouth of a corpse. "The two thumbs are tied together, and the big toes with cotton thread." Lemoine (1972: 108) mentions of the Hmong (Miao): "le corps étroitement lié aux chevilles, aux genoux, aux hanches et aux épaules par des bandes en toile de chanvre blanche." Chindarsi (1976: 82) relates of the Hmong Njua (Blue Maeo): "the corpse must be washed and dressed in new clothes... because it is believed that the dead man will then be accepted by the ghost people in the other world, and also that the people who clean the corpse will gain good fortune." Thiele (1975: 101) remarks of the Chinese in northern Taiwan: "As soon as death occurs the deceased man will be washed and clothed with his shroud. Some coins are put into the coffin. The dead man will be kept in the house of mourning up to 49 days (7 × 7)."

under a bamboo frame bent ovoid about 60 cm high, the lattice of which consisted of squares 12 × 12 cm. In front, at the feet, it was about 35 cm wide; towards the head, about 60 cm. In its interior at two places bamboo cords were braced over the dead to keep the frame in its form. Over the lower part of the frame a red-and-white-checked cloth was hung, over the head part a white one. Behind near the head were hanging two carrying bags and a little basket, at the wall was a board with some burning candles, a kind of altar; and just before the candles, hiding them, were six new coloured cloths hanging on a string, narrowly folded (Thai : *phākḥāumā*), belonging to the family. This hanging of cloths (Thai, Lawā : *khrueng gōed*) serves to tell the dead person "we all of your family have come to help at your death". After burial the owners of the cloths take them back again. A corresponding ritual in B. Pā Pāe is described by Kunstadter (1968: 32).

The helping at death is of special importance. *Khun* Suchāt said that both of us would be allowed to accompany the coffin-makers only if we would 'help'.

Under the head of the dead some wooden sticks were placed as a pillow (Obayashi 1966: 252-53; Kunstadter 1968: 20). *Khun* Suchāt said that over the dead was hanging a string touching the wooden floor on both sides to indicate his width, because the boards of the width of the dead would be torn (not cut) out at full length of the floor and thrown out of the house later. Afterwards they put in new boards. This custom, he said, the Lawā called *ramēs* and does not exist in his village B. B5 Luang. In B. Pā Pāe women remove the floor board (Kunstadter 1968: 47).

Making a coffin. While the two gravediggers (Lawā : *pa gaung-to*; Thai : *sābpārē*; a third one had died) were preparing the two thatch layers for the roof of the grave hut, we descended at 11.15 hrs. with five men, each of another village, on a steep path shortly behind the western end of the village down to the rivulet Huai Mā Omphāi. There the coffin (Lawā : *kho' phī yum*) was to be made. This work was directed by the 70-year-old *Nāi* Pūd, *gorid* and only potter of B. Chāngmō Luang.

Before arriving there the four young men took to the left and made a steep ascent through dense thorny bushes to the tree to be felled which had been marked beforehand for such a case.³ While waiting at the rivulet, we heard the young men hacking at the tree and cutting off the branches. In 1964 it was said that there ought to have been made an offering of a leaf-parcel containing rice, dried meat and a black cotton thread to the female tree-spirit. Such a female spirit is believed to live in every tree, and with this sacrifice she is also asked to stay a long time with the dead and watch that the coffin might not break soon.⁴ *Nāi* Pud did not climb up, but

3. The tree was ordinary white wood (Lawā : *kho' khro*; Thai : *mai ngiu*) for this 'small custom' funeral. In B. Pā Pāe, for a 'big custom' funeral with a buffalo sacrifice, a redwood to be fetched from quite far away is prescribed (Kunstadter 1968: 29). In most villages *kho' khro* is used for ordinary villagers, but in some villages for *samang* or when a buffalo is sacrificed *kho' retum* must be used, a hardwood, the best of all. For rich people in B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang and B. Pae' also *kho' reni* (Thai : *mā'faen*) may be employed (cf. table 7).

4. Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1962: 120) mentions the belief of the Thai that "every big tree in a forest is supposed to be the residence of a tree spirit either male or female. A tree with certain usefulness... has a female spirit called *nang-mai* (นางไม้) or wood nymph, while a tree with no such economic value... has a male spirit called *rukha devada* (รุกขเทวดา) or tree angel."

made the offering afterwards when the tree trunk had thundered down. He did this rapidly in an unwatched moment before I had time to use the camera.

In 1968, on the contrary, the informants said that there is no sacrifice for the *phi* of the tree felled to make a coffin. But as soon as the tree trunk is split into halves an offering of rice and meat is given to the spirit of the dead. The offerer calls the dead's name: "This will be your house, please help that we will make it so strong and beautiful that it does not break."

This following description from Kunstadter may be taken as accurate (1968 : 29-30), being a very similar proceeding noted from B. Pā Pāe.

After the felling a chicken is killed and its blood smeared on the log. "The eldest man present conducts the ritual and prays, calling to the dead person's spirit asking the coffin to be a good one, that the wood will not crack while it is being carved and that the men will not cut their hands and feet while they are working." Then the chicken is roasted, a small bit with rice and salt on a leaf offered beside the log for the dead person's spirit which is considered to be the owner of this wood. The men, except those of the dead person's lineage, eat the rest of the chicken. Thereupon the log is wedged apart.

The young men still had to help the tree roll closer to a small open space near the rivulet, then at once they started to partially cut off the bark with their chopping knives or billhooks (Thai: *phrāō*—Rangsit 1942-45: 699; in Umphāi, *rangōng*) which are exactly like those of the Nagas in Assam and the Chittagong hill tribes (Kauffmann 1962b: 114, fig. 1). The cutting edge is curved slightly inside, and the broad end of the blade has two points. One of the men rapidly cut wooden wedges, then the four turned the trunk to and fro to decide how it could be best halved. They next drove three wedges in a line with vigorous blows, first at one end, then two more in between, and still one or two more after the wedges had fully entered the log. At the same end two wedges were driven in farther above, and the same was done at the other end of the trunk (fig. 43). While doing this they alternately helped by hacking along the separating line. More and more the cleft was opening and after more than half an hour of very hard work the trunk cracked and split into halves.

Meanwhile *Nāi Pūd* had killed a small chicken, plucked and singed it. A man washed it in the rivulet, then *Nāi Pūd* stuck small bits of it on twigs to roast them over a fire. When he had finished he went over to the two halves of the coffin-to-be and measured with a blade of grass the length and breadth taken from the dead man (fig. 44).⁵ With axe and billhook all was cut down in front and behind except a projecting peg at each end. Then started the protracted work of hollowing out the coffin as well as the lid with the axe (fig. 45). Both were exactly the same and finally fitted quite well. When the roughest work was finished, the inside was smoothed, with the iron shoe of the digging stick (Rangsit 1942-45: 699; in Umphāi, *krimo*) being used as a plane, and again and again with the axe they hacked transversally to diminish the wood pieces to be taken out. Following this they hacked off on the outside as much as possible and with this

5. Srisawasdi (1963a: 188) relates that "if one puts a dead one into the coffin it must be fitting; in case it is too short the makers of the coffin must pay a fine of half a *pib* (about 10 litres) of unhusked rice, if it has the correct size they get as a reward a pig's foot and silver hook-moneyweighing three baht" (1 baht = 15g). Although this statement was not verified to us, it is a matter of fact that during a funeral in some cases fines are to be paid (e.g. not to come to the house of the deceased person for singing) or compensations: *samang* households must make a gift of a litre of rice "because they are tabooed from participating in the funeral and burial preparations" (Kunstadter 1968: 40).

the last of the bark disappeared (fig. 46). All the time the working men checked the thickness of the wall, but in spite of doing so they could not avoid hacking a hole through it.

At 15.00 hrs. we ate our frugal lunch of chicken and hill rice, after which more finishing work was done. Finally, when the wall was about 1 cm thick, they pierced a hole with a point of the billhook into the two protruding ends. Nearly unnoticed and in haste the *gorid* Pūd had laid down rice and dried meat where the log had been worked first, and in doing so he had murmured prayers (cf. Kunstadter's report). Then a man pulled a black thread through the holes at both protruding ends of the coffin (fig. 47), to indicate the lower or female coffin half on which the lid or male half is placed. Meanwhile another one had already found a suitable liana, cut off its shoots, and cut lengths for fastening the coffin to a bamboo, which a third man had cut ready. By 16.15 hrs. the last blow had fallen, and in no time everything was packed up and in an hour we had climbed up again the steep hill at a glowing heat and deposited the coffin in front of the ritual house where they tinted its interior white with rice flour.

A small coffin costs 10 baht, a big one 15 baht, but in this case it was gratis because the mother of the dead boy was a widow.

Singing. On this first day of the wake the people in and outside the deadhouse were quite cheerful, laughing freely at the side of the dead boy. An old Karēn from the neighbouring village of B. Mā̄ Aeb close to the dead boy slowly danced around his carrying bag in which he had brought chillies and salt. While dancing he was singing a song (Lawā: *yue am*) only sung at death cases. The Karēn of B. Mā̄ Aeb and the Lawā of the Umphāi group have long-standing good bartering relations. From time to time the big drums and the gong were beaten, all the time calling the people to the death-house where youngsters were singing in the evening. After 21.00 hrs. a group came from B. Den, while another one from the Chāngmō villages was still awaited. So the events proceeded during this night and also the following ones. Those of B. Omphāi Luang who do not attend must pay 1 rupee and 1 bottle of rice alcohol for every day missed (Obayashi 1966: 252-53).

In B. Pā̄ Pā̄ from midnight to dawn bachelors and maidens sang every night at the dead person's house. They complained of their tiredness and their sore throats. "Funerals offer an important opportunity for courtship, especially . . . between villages, as guests are invited . . . especially if the dead person's family has relatives there." (Kunstadter 1968: 23, 25, 27).

Thread-squares. In the morning of the second day (9 February 1964), the *gorid* made the 25 thread-squares (or thread-crosses; Northern Thai: *pīn*) given to every dead male in B. Omphāi Luang, and attached them to a thin bamboo stick which he stuck into the wall in the ritual house. The whole bundle hanging down was about 80 cm long (fig. 48). The squares generally consist of a cross of flat bamboo or thin wooden sticks which are narrowly wound around from one end to the next with multicoloured threads, forming a square (Kauffman 1964: 420). The *gorid* made the thread-squares in an extremely cursory way, and some of them were hardly recognizable as such. The flat bamboo splinters forming the cross were askew or about to slip out. Only a single thread-square was well made, of a size of 6 × 6 cm. But even on this one the threads were not wound narrowly. All the thread-squares were made from one reel of thread

on which threads of four colours (red, yellow, white and black) were intertwined; they were thereby all connected without a break from the first to the last thread-square. The remainder of the spool was put on the bamboo from which the thread-squares were hanging. The system of hanging the 25 thread-squares in B. Ūmphāi Luang was verified by *Khun* Suchāt and myself (fig. 49; cf. the version of 1962 in Kauffmann 1968: Abb. 17, p. 285). Having hung the thread-square bundle, the *gorīd* Ling sacrificed rice on leaves, a little piece of chicken, a small bowl of chicken broth, and a pinetorch below the bundle, in a flat winnowing basket.

In B. Chāngmō Manōd (of the six villages in the Umphāi group called in Lawā *yuang salōng*) 25 plus three thread-squares were hung up for a dead baby. The three odd ones, they said, were "only for decoration". In B. Pā Pāē old women make 14 thread-squares, called *mbong byang*, with cotton yarn of the same colours: red, yellow, white and black. Together with them they make *lacong thia*, a bamboo traversed by three smaller bamboos stuck at right angles from each other, and from the ends of which dangle roses, cigarettes and matches (Kunstadter 1968: 32). These *lacong thia* seem to be unknown in all other Lawā villages. The two funeral devices, *mbong byang* and *lacong thia*, are first hung on the string over the dead person, and on the last day taken down, put into the basket containing other grave goods, and finally, at burial, hung over the head end of the grave hut (Kunstadter 1968: 43, 49). The *phū chuai* Bun Lā at B. Pā Pāē however, told us that 15 thread-crosses are given to a dead man if a pig has been sacrificed to his spirit, and 30 are given if the sacrifice is a buffalo. The uppermost has a diameter of about 25 cm, the others are 6 × 6 cm, and they are hung up in front of the grave hut.

Apart from the Umphāi group and B. Pā Pāē we noted thread-squares only from three other villages. In B. Sām one bundle of nine and one of seven *pīn*, altogether 16, are put up on sticks to the right and left of the grave hut front. They are made by an old woman (cf. B. Pā Pāē and B. La'ub) and are given to women as well in case a buffalo has been sacrificed. Their meaning is unknown. In B. Mūēd Lōng nine thread-squares, here not called *pīn* but *lējog* (cf. "Glossary"), are hung up from a stick put at the head of the grave. In B. La'ub exists a group of six old women called *pīa' poeng tā guad liag nueng nōng* who prepare everything in cases of death, including the 16 *pīn* which are laid on the dead woman's chest to be buried with her. The meaning is unknown and nobody wanted to speak of such ominous things. Of the northern villages only in B. La'āng Nuea was it said that formerly thread-squares were used but now no more.

The thread-square in a way looks like a cobweb, and indeed, by some people (e.g. the Tibetans) it is used as a device for catching demons or at least for warding them off. Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 172) hint at this meaning with the Lawā of Umphāi. Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1967) has written on 'cobweb' flags of the Lao (cf. Kauffmann 1968: 296-97). The construction and use of the thread-square makes it strictly different from the *talāeo*, which is a sign of prohibition for men and especially spirits and consists of an open plaited work of bamboo splices without any threads (Kauffmann 1964: 420-21). Funke (1960: 142) has erroneously remarked that all houses in Umphāi show thread-squares for apotropaic purposes; he has confused them with *talāeo* which I often have seen there, while thread-squares are never to be found in a village, only at graves.

The informants, after some discussion, agreed that the Thai word *pīn* for thread-square was correct everywhere. The word *pīn* is explained in the dictionary of the Royal Academy (Bangkok, 1967) to be tantamount to *ta' gai* (ตะกรวย), to scramble up or clamber up, and, in fact, it is thought to be a ladder to the realm of the dead; others have said "a ladder to heaven, not to fall into hell", but this clearly originates from the well-known Buddhist conception. When putting up the *pīn* at the grave an elder says: "If five days have passed, 'go now away'; if seven days have passed, 'now have a rest'; and if nine days have passed, 'now eat for the last time at your *mbueang*'." (cf. "Glossary"). Some people call the thread-square *dyóksedyá*, but this is a confusion with another device (see section 3d, and "Glossary").

Finishing the coffin. On this morning both halves of the coffin were lying open in front of the ritual house (fig. 50). Similarly as in B. Sām and in B. La'ub, the coffin was put in front of the ritual house, but in B. La'ub coffins are brought empty to the grave and not with the corpse as in B. Ōmphāi Luang. In B. Pā Pā the two halves of the coffin are put hollow-side down alongside the house of the dead person (Kunstadter 1968: 30); also in B. Dong the coffin is put in front of the house of the deceased man.

In the afternoon the gong was beaten many times. By 17.00 hrs the coffin and the other paraphernalia were all ready. At one end of the coffin lid, flat holes were hollowed out in which four 50-satang coins and a cowrie fitted exactly (fig. 51). At the other end two 50- and two 5-satang pieces and a cowrie were inserted as well. With rich people the whole lid is filled with coins of higher value; also the lids are afterwards painted by young men with colour made of pounded lime, charcoal, and turmeric. Kunstadter (1968: 39) describes the painting of the top of the coffin of a two-year-old boy in B. Pā Pā with black and white figures. He describes designs of three patterns for 'small' and 'big custom' funerals, but all three are very different from the drawings on a coffin of B. Ōmphāi Luang that M.C. Sanidh Rangsit photographed in 1938 (fig. 52); similar to these were the figures we have seen in B. Chāngmō Manōd on the small coffin of a baby. Kunstadter remarked of B. Pā Pā (1968: 40) that when the work is finished, curry, rice and liquor are offered at its side as an inducement for the dead person's spirit to take up its new dwelling place.

Paraphernalia. At the side of the coffin a *mbueang* was leaning against the ritual house, a post given to every dead person (fig. 53). It was 1.2 m high, had three superficial notches around it, and one more 10 cm below them. The top was ringed round by a strip of sheet metal. There were five white lines below, each 1 cm wide, executed in paint (not carved). On top an aluminium plate was nailed. Similar to the thread-squares this also was very flimsy work. The boy was poor and not even married. There was no buffalo to be sacrificed, and consequently neither *tarē* nor *chua la'māng*; he did not get a *dyóksedyá* and his coffin was not to be painted. Of course, he could not get a *nām* post put up for male *samang* as only his mother was of *samang* descent, not his father, and she had no *samang phī*. He was only Lúa (Thai: *phrai*/ไพร่), an ordinary man.

The *gorid* killed a chicken in front of the ritual house and smeared its blood on the *mbueang*.⁶ At the side were lying two pairs of bamboo sticks joined crosswise (fig. 54), each bamboo having a length of 80-100 cm; they are called *galae* as are the big house horns, and are later stuck into the earth at both ends of the grave hut to carry the bamboo ridge piece. The two relevant layers of thatch for the roof also were lying there. The very same ridge piece was used to carry the newly made coffin up the hill, and later would be used to carry it to the grave.⁷

Fear of dead spirits. When we approached the ritual house a couple of little boys, terrified to see us foreigners, rushed out and, stumbling over the steps, fell down. Seeing this their fathers were frightened that the spirit of the dead boy would take them away. Each of them gave the *gorid* Ling an egg and asked that he should save his son by magically making his *khwän*⁸ enter the egg. Using a split piece of bamboo while murmuring incantations, the *gorid* shoved the eggs into a basket, and gave them back to the families who could eat them or not.

On 10 February, when we were leaving B. Omphāi Luang, I tried to take a snapshot of some men and women working on the construction of a wall of a new house where a big but already much disarranged *talāeo* was fixed. Suddenly the house owner *Nāi* Thū of the foremost and wealthiest *samang* family burst out with a fit of rage, shouting wildly and raising his fists menacingly against me. He wanted to prevent my taking him, his family, and his house into my little box where the *phi* of the dead boy, buried this very morning, was residing. He had seen my taking pictures during the wake and was afraid of the spirit's wrath which might bring disaster upon them all and his new house.

These short incidents show the extreme fear of the Lawā about deceased peoples' spirits, which are believed to be able to cause illness (Kunstader 1968: 17). After an interment nobody would ever go to the burial site, thinking it to be haunted by these spirits, and it is not astonishing that the Lawā never want to indicate the whereabouts of their graveyards.⁹

A sacrifice by the gorid. Continuing his activities in the funeral rites the *gorid* went up into the ritual house where a number of men, already more or less drunk, were noisily arguing. Some of them again beat gong and drums. The *gorid* squatted in the corner where he had made the sacrifice earlier when hanging up the thread-squares. Before him he again put a flat winnowing basket with many small leaf parcels tied with bamboo strings. With lightning speed he tore open these parcels filled with food and at each one he called the name of another ancestor spirit (*phi la'māng*). All was accomplished in not even two minutes.

6. One unconfirmed version from Umphāi, given by the headman Ping Chumphut, said that on the burial day a reddish bitch is killed at the side of the thick *ngiu*-post (cf. I: 286) near the ritual house, and its blood is smeared on the new *mbueang*. Later, who wants to eat of the meat may do so; the rest is thrown downhill into the jungle.

7. Kraisri Nimmanahaeminda (1966: 148) describes a nearly identical custom of the Northern Thai: "Bamboo poles which were used to carry their remains from the house to the burial ground were cut up and sunk into the ground above the heap of earth over the grave in the form of two upright crossed sticks (Pl. II-c). They appeared like the front and the rear bargeboards of an old-style house."

8. The meaning of *khwän* (ขวัญ - Thai) has been defined as "something in the nature of a principle of life, vital to the welfare of man and animals" (Rajadon 1962: 119).

9. The somewhat enlightened headman Mueang Pung of B. Pae' remarked: "Even if not afraid one ought to leave the dead people in peace and not go around there."

Burial. On 10 February the burial was to be performed at about 8.00 hrs. But when we arose, before 7.00, all had taken place while it was still dark. It was apparent that the *gorid* and maybe the other Lawā also did not like us to assist. They cleverly had fooled us and tried to persist in this manner when they told us that the grave was far away at Chāngmō or so. On the day before we had looked for it and not found it. Certainly it was an error to ask the *gorid* to accompany us to the burial ground; two years earlier our guide *Nāi* Kritsadā Premānon had been more astute by not telling anyone and going with me secretly.

The grave. When we abruptly had left B. Omphāi Luang at 9.30 hrs, resenting the tricks played on us, *Khun* Suchāt and I sneaked up to the burial ground, finding nothing. But *Khun* Suchāt had good instincts,—he went further on to the west on the small jungle ridge and we came to a glade: there it was, the new grave (fig. 55), and 2 m to its left, negligently thrown away, were the thread-squares. According to the picture of Steinmann and Rangsit (1939 : 172, Abb. 6) we put them up in front of the grave for photographing.

As with everything else at this interment, the grave was made very superficially. The big bamboo ridge-piece had already fallen in front and was only supported by the so-called *galae* behind (fig. 56). The two roof layers were hastily thrown over it, a pitiable sight. The inside of the hut was filled with a longish carrying basket full of clothes. At the side was lying a nice gourd bottle plaited around with bamboo and a small basket for the chicken which was set free at the grave.

There is a film taken in 1938 by *M.C.* Sanidh Rangsit showing a funeral procession at B. Omphāi Luang. Only men take part. In front a man is carrying the stick with the thread-squares hanging down, then come the bearers with the corpse in the open coffin and those with grave offerings.

This day-by-day narration of a case of death in B. Omphāi Luang has come to its end. But as the observation of the actual burial was spoiled for us in the following paragraphs I quote excerpts from Kunstadter's rather complete description of a burial in B. Pā Pā (1968 : 42-3). On the third day of the wake, when "it is about 16.30... and time for the spirit to leave", two of the older men unwrap the corpse and untie the bindings around arms and legs. "The untying is said to symbolize the cutting of the bonds between the living and the dead^[10]... The spirit is again told that it is no longer a relative and no longer lives here. The corpse is wrapped up again and receives 24 cowries from the child's father... These cowries represent 1,200 Baht, and are given to the spirit to use as the price of buffaloes, dogs, an irrigated field, or whatever else is owned by the survivors of the household... The spirit is told that this is a property settlement—the spirit should take the money, and not bother the real possessions

10. In B. Sām and B. Khōng they bind the corpse in four places: big toes, ankles, knees and chest. These strings are cut in B. Sām before, in B. Khōng after laying the dead into the coffin "or the dead people could not walk overthere".

of the living.”¹¹ This property settlement is the same “as in the case of a household fission” (p. 10). The dead boy is put on a mat and a cloth into the coffin in the house. Without its lid the coffin is attached to a bamboo pole and, feet first, carried to the open porch where the father and relatives put burning candles on the edge of the coffin and on the carrying pole (p. 47). They already had lighted candles every night and placed them on house beams over the head of the dead boy. “The offering of these candles earns merit for their donor” (p. 43).

It is the duty of older men including all *lām* to participate at the burial. Coffin-makers and *samang* must not go. The procession to the grave consists of the following:

1. Two men carrying possessions of the dead person in shoulder bags.
2. One *lām* carrying a chicken, another a burning stick from the fire of the death-house.
3. The lid of the coffin with a water jar.
4. Chicken and rice in the pot in which it was cooked that morning at the ritual house.
5. A spear, made the day before as a grave offering.¹²
6. The coffin itself with the corpse, feet first.
7. Men carrying baskets with grave offerings.

When they reach the other side of the rivulet Māe Amlang, the *lām* carrying the chicken kills it and throws it away, then the men approaching the cemetery cough loudly to warn the spirits of their arrival (p. 47). “Another chicken, given by the grandmother of the dead child, is released unharmed, at the cemetery for the spirit to raise” (p. 48; cf. *Ōmphāi Luang*, above).

The spot for the grave is selected and cleaned,¹³ whereupon the men dig the grave about 80 cm deep. The oldest *lām* calls the *phī la'māng* while dumping out the basket with small rice packages.¹⁴ The men stop for a drink. Two sticks are laid across the grave, and the coffin bottom with lighted candles on its edge is put on them. The carrying pole is untied, and one of the *lām* opens the shrouds exposing the head of the corpse. One of the elders shouts at the dead man:

11. Although we have no data for B. Dong and B. Pā Pāē, we may securely assume that everywhere the Lawā put coins into the mouths of their dead people before laying them in the coffin, how much depending on personal wealth: one *thāēb* (= 1 rupee) or more for the rich, one *win* (= 12 satang) or two *win* for the poor. Special customs are observed in B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang and B. Pae': satangs are not only put into the mouth but also into the ears, on the eyes, on the heart, and, in the two last-named villages, into the hands. In the *Umphāi* group, moreover, a woven cotton belt with an inbuilt little pouch filled with satangs is wound around the corpse; formerly it was also used by living people. In B. Pā Pāē they use a moneybelt containing a silver rupee and an old ball-like Thai silver coin in the same way (Kunstadter 1968: 20).

The gift of 24 cowries (one cowrie has a fictitious value of 50 baht) as spirit money for the other world is reminiscent of the burning of fake paper money for the dead by the Chinese.

12. On the second day of the wake, men in B. Pā Pāē make grave offerings in about one quarter their normal size: a covered basket for clothing, an eating tray, a fish net, a miniature knife with its sheath, a hoe, a weeding tool, a sickle, a spear, a sword “each with its crudely made iron blade . . . not well made. . . but they will do for the spirit. . . to make the upland field, and to carry on life there in the normal Lua' 's way” (Kunstadter 1968: 35).

13. For choosing a grave-site some people around the Lawā have a custom not known to the Lawā. I have learnt from the Kachin in Upper Burma that they choose the grave-site by throwing an egg—if it breaks, the grave is made there; if not, a new try is made. Le May (1925: 167-68) relates a similar custom with an egg in a bag of the Lue in northeastern Thailand. Archaimbault (1963: 14-15) describes the same custom from northeastern Thailand and the Lao. Manddorff (1971: 151) describes a variation of the Lisu in northeastern Thailand.

14. The old women of B. Pā Pāē also prepare grave offerings: little packages of rice, corn, pumpkin, beans, cotton, flower seeds, bitse, of taro, limpeppers, tobacco, matches, “and everything else that is used in the village” (Kunstadter 1968: 36).

Take your last look at the earth!
 Look up at the distant sky!
 We are burying you in the earth!

The shroud is refolded; grave offerings, each painted with a white lime stripe, are put into the coffin,¹⁵ the top is put on and the coffin lowered into the ground. At each end of the coffin a pole is set up and the earth filled in (p. 48). A pole is tied between the two uprights, grass roof shingles are leant against it, and baskets with grave offerings are laid down at the foot end of the grave.

When going home, the burial party washes hands and faces at the rivulet where also cups with *sompōi*¹⁶ are put for purifying by washing their hair and cleanse knives and hoes. Meanwhile the floorboard is replaced and an altar *mbah nyaa* is built at the housepost next to where the body's head had been lying. A black and a white chicken are killed at this altar. The oldest *lām* offers them and prays that the spirit should go away; he pours water on them and throws all away with the altar (p. 49). Finally there is a large offering, called *lūt*, of all kinds of food. One old man tells at dusk that the sun is coming up, as nighttime for the living is daytime in the land of the spirits (cf. II, 182). The prayer over the *lūt* should persuade the *phī la'māng* that this is the final offering and that it should take it and nevermore return to the land of the living (p. 51-2).

Burial customs of the northern Lawā. In the northern Lawā villages of B. Gōg Nōi, B. Hō', B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang, and B. Pae', two young men carry the empty coffin in the early morning to the grave site. In the afternoon groups of old men bring the corpse to the grave for burying. In B. Dong and B. La'ub, any men may carry the coffin to the grave; and in the afternoon at B. Dong a burial group of 18, at B. La'ub one of 21 old men, both groups called *tā guad liag nueng nōng*, bring the corpse wrapped in a shroud, a fine mat (made only in B. Dong) and a coarse bamboo mat tied to a stout bamboo to the grave. There they put the dead man wrapped in the cloth and the fine mat into the coffin (cf. table 7).

Another custom of the northern villages is that people are not allowed to start grave digging. For this purpose they hire a poor Karēn who receives for his work a chicken, a bottle of alcohol, a minimum of 10 baht, and lustral water for washing his face and hands as a purifying rite. All the men participating must wash in the same way and dry their hands over a fire, not with a cloth. After the Karēn has begun digging, the Lawā themselves finish the grave. We have taken notes on this procedure from B. Mūēd Lōng, B. Hō', B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang, B. Pae', B. Dong, and B. La'ub. In B. Dong grave digging is started by *Nai Khampég* whose father is Karēn and mother Lawā; if he dies without a son, a Karēn must be found to begin digging. If needs be B. La'ub calls *Nai Khampég* from neighbouring B. Dong (cf. table 7).

15. Quite certainly everywhere personal belongings as clothes or cups are put into the coffin and so buried. Generally also on or close to the grave are put tools or weapons for a man and spinning wheel or cotton-gin (Rangsit 1942-45: 698, in Umphāi : *pāng khīt thīa*) for a woman (cf. table 7).

16. Lustral water is made by roasting pods of *sompōi* (Lawā: *sam pug*; *acacia concinna* DC.), crushing them into small pieces, and soaking them in water which will take the colour of tea (cf. II: 200).

In B. Pae' the burial is on the *lamói lue'* (great burial ground), but there is also a minor one at a certain spot in the forest, the *lamói tia'* (small burial ground) where mats, clothes and all what had been used by the deceased person is thrown away. The cups out of which the burying people have drunk must be left at the grave. It was said that this is the custom in all villages—most probably, but this could not be verified. In B. B5 Luang and other villages of the plateau (B. Giu Lom, B. Khun, B. Wang Gōng, B. Nā Fōn, B. Māe Sa'nām) china cups used by the dead person are broken and strewn on the path to the burial ground.

Spirit in the grave hut. It is a peculiarity of the Lawā to erect a little hut over the grave which is not practised by any other people of the region. It is made of two layers of thatch leaning against a bamboo ridge-pole supported by two *galae* at the front and the rear (fig. 55). In two villages we learnt that instead of thatch the roof is made of bamboo halves laid alternately up and down into each other: in B. Sam if a buffalo is sacrificed, and in B. Pae' for *samang* (cf. table 7).

In B. Pae' they told us that in the grave hut the spirit of the buried person is residing. The same idea Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 172) have observed for Umphāi when they called it a "soul-hut". In fact, in B. Pā Pā, 1964, an informant said the hut was to serve as a protection of the corpse against sun and rain, and as the house of the soul as well (Lawā: *albmāi dsomyog*; Thai: *winyān*). Actually, else a difference between soul and *phī la'māng* is recognized. How this differing view could be reconciled we have no means to decide. At any rate, the idea of the spirit's dwelling in its hut accounts for the fear to go to the graveyard.

The spirit is never fed at this hut but, in the south, on the *mbueang* post, and, in the north, on the path to the graveyard; so the spirit must be imagined to have quite a degree of mobility from the grave hut to the place where food is offered. Another question arises: how is this staying of the spirit in its grave hut compatible with the idea that dead people go to the realm of the other world? Certainly, logic in the eschatology of the Lawā is too much to ask for.

(b) *Another case of death*

When I visited B. Chāngm5 Man5d, belonging to the Umphāi group of six villages, on 26 December 1968 with *Khun* Suchāt, near the door of one house was lying the little corpse of a two-month-old baby wrapped securely in a white cloth. There was no low-arched frame of bamboo lattice over it as in B. 5mphāi Luang. On the corpse was laid a candle, before it was put a flat winnowing basket with some pork and rice liquor, and in the midst of this basket was standing a burning candle. On the porch a dozen men were sitting, drinking rice-alcohol and already very drunk. Though we had offered some money they would not allow us to take pictures and shouted at us in rather rough and nasty tones. After our bad experience with the houseowner in B. 5mphāi Luang in 1964 this was the second case to show that the Lawā in certain situations must be treated cautiously.

We were surprised to find in front of the *nyoe' nyū* of B. Chāngm5 Man5d the little coffin, painted with black circles and lines, together with thread-squares, a *mbueang* and the two *galae* showing that even this little baby was to receive a grave hut. This struck us because we had

thought that little children are buried without circumstance. When the *gorid* Ling of B. Umphāi Luang accompanied us in 1964 to the burial ground he said that the graves were in a line for B. Yāeg, B. Den, to the left for B. Umphāi Luang and somewhat farther to the right behind for all children.¹⁷

The *gorid* also pretended that, for making place, bones are thrown out; in fact, a skull (brachycephalic) was lying around. But there were about a half dozen graves in an irregular row to be recognized only by shallow cavities. All the little huts were decayed without a trace; only on the grave of *Lung Gaeo* (cf. I: 262, II: 199, fig. 20), who had died a year ago (1963), there still was the bamboo ridge-pole on its *galae*.

In 1962 when I first visited the burial ground of Umphāi I found three graves still with grave huts, even if in a desolate state. Bundles of 25 thread-squares were hanging on the ridge-poles of two graves. At one gravesite was stuck a buffalo skull. Looking a bit around I found a nice china cup of modern production.

(c) *Rituals after death*

The tarē. At the side of this last grave was lying a winnowing fan on which a strange design had been made with lime (fig. 57), the same as had been drawn inside a gong in B. Umphāi Luang (fig. 38). At each of the four ends of a cross were three prongs (or else a circle; fig. 58). Later I saw a photograph of *M.C. Sanidh Rangsit* showing men sitting around such a design, and I thought it might be a game. I asked Professor Obayashi to inquire when he set out for Umphāi. When he did in the Sgō Karēn village of B. Māe Thō Luang, the people refused to speak and abruptly left him. He concluded (1964a: 209, 214 note 34) that it must be something like the Thai game "Tiger eats cattle" (Thai: *suea gin wua*/เสือกินวัว); or the Burmese game *shwe la min kya*, "golden moon - king tiger" (Dennis 1952: 107/08). Indeed, in B. Pā Pāe they play a game called *saeng* during all the nights of a wake: four tigers must eat 11 birds or be enclosed by them (*saeng paon*; *paon*, four) at a "small custom" funeral when a pig is sacrificed; or *saeng sate* (*sate*, eight), with more tigers and birds at a "big custom" funeral when a buffalo is sacrificed. This is a winning game used as a ritual, and if it "is played or discussed in detail at times other than funerals, the dead people spirits will be offended, and the living fear that someone else may die". This game *saeng* is also played by northern Thais at funerals (Kunstadter 1968: 25). Still, when we visited B. Pā Pāe in February 1964 the *phū chuai* Bun Lā said that they also execute the *tarē* on all nights during the wake, but only if a buffalo has been sacrificed.

Ironically, I later got the first clue just in the very Sgō Karēn village of B. Māe Thō Luang where they had refused to give an answer to Obayashi. Through these Karēn it became clear that during the nights of a wake they execute a death rite which we before erroneously had supposed

17. Probably children in all northern villages are buried without ceremony on a separate place of the burial ground. So we noted from B. Ho', B. Gōg Luang, and B. Dong (here for children below one year of age; older children are buried like adults). Heavy branches are put on the grave to keep off animals. In B. Bō Luang children up to about five years are buried without ceremony in the same way on a children's graveyard situated in a separate part of the forest. But if the dead child has a younger brother or sister it is buried in the graveyard for adults, and the ceremony for adults is performed. This demonstrates the importance of the relation of older brother or sister to younger siblings. In B. Pā Pāe Kunstadter (1968: 12) reports that dead children become *phī la'mang* of their surviving parents.

to be a game, and that the Lawā had the same rite in most of their villages, calling it *tarē* (or *siang*). In Umphāi, as we were informed by headman Ping Chumphut, as well as in B. La'ub it was expressly stated that it is against custom to speak about the *tarē* or to inquire about it. In B. La'ub he who commits such an offence must pay with a bottle of rice alcohol, two rupees and a *suai dōg* (Thai: สวยตอก, a leaf cone with flowers, etc.).

In B. Omphāi Luang they proceed as follows: men of the family line of the dead person (except *samang* who might only be onlookers) sit around a winnowing basket containing the white *tarē* design which represents four trees (possibly trees of life). After each round they change with other men of the family (fig. 59). Little pieces of charcoal or small stones are put on the prongs, and one man after the other pushes them from his prongs down to the centre; while doing this he calls the dead person by name and says: "this fruit is for you on your way to the land of the dead, please take it". This is repeated monotonously through the whole night and again during the following nights of the wake.

In B. Pā Pāē men only perform the rite in the house of the dead person during the whole night. They use nine pieces of charcoal called *ma'gōg* (Thai: มะกอก, or olive) on a design with three three-pronged trees while the fourth twig ends in a ring (fig. 58a). One man is chosen as speaker. Pointing with a finger to a chip he says: "please take this fruit with you to the other world". Everyone who wants to participate acts in the same way. The winnowing fan is emptied after each round. If a new one begins the chips are put back on the prongs. Before the corpse is carried to the burial ground a very close relative of the dead person says again: "please take this fruit with you to the other world", and this is repeated by the four *lām*. The winnowing fan is finally emptied, and the nine chips are brought in a basket together with the dead man to the grave, where all are thrown away.

With this it is apparent that the *tarē* is no 'game' for winning or losing at all, but a sacred rite generally executed for male dead persons only, or only for *samang* (Umphāi, B. Pae'), or for both sexes if a buffalo has been sacrificed (B. Pā Pāē, B. La'āng Nuea). To the questions why it is executed and why it is kept secret, we did not get an answer, but as there are constantly fruits offered for the way to 'death land' it can be supposed that it is one more urgent invitation to the dead person to leave the living people and go to the ancestors. And the reason why nobody speaks about the *tarē* is fear of offending the dead man's spirit, as Kunstadter has explained for B. Pā Pāē. As to the provenance in B. Khōng they spoke of their *len saeng* (Thai: เล่นแสง, play saeng) as of Karēn origin but did not like to speak more about it (cf. table 7).

Karēn origins. The *tarē* presumably is of Karēn origin, as is attested by the following reports. The Sgō Karēn of B. Mā Thō Luang where the old headman Būē gave us the first information on what they called the *sūekhē* (or *saeng*) had nearly the same rules as what we learned later of the Lawā *tarē*. The men call out to the dead person: "climb up this tree and take all its fruits as last provisions for the journey on the path of the dead". Then they throw the little charcoal pieces on the dead man saying: "please, take this as food".

The Pwo Karēn (informant: Nāi Wang Phādē of B. Mā Hūēd / บ้านแม่หือด) gave explanations on their *saeng-sae* executed for dead men and women alike. It is performed in

front of a death platform (about 2 × 0.5 m, 1 m high) outside the house under a special open roof, as long as the dead person may lay on this platform, from three to five days. Two to four men or women who must be relatives of the dead person are sitting around a winnowing fan containing a design exactly like the *tarē* of the Lawā. If there are more relatives they execute another round until all are through, but everyone might perform it as often as he likes. With a little stick one after another shoves a small piece of charcoal down 'his' tree to the centre calling the name of the dead man and saying: "here I give you this fruit, on your way you will not find anything". When the 12 'fruits' are in the centre one round is finished. The next group must move clockwise a bit further around, only the host, pouring out rice alcohol to the guests, must move counter-clockwise. When the corpse is brought to the grave in some villages they burn the winnowing fan, little sticks and charcoal pieces; in others they put the winnowing fan on the grave about where the stomach of the dead man is supposed to be. Marshall (1922: 201-2, fig. p. 203) has given an excellent description of the *htaw the tha* ("climbing the fruit tree") of the Karēn in Burma, which corresponds to the Lawā *tarē* in some aspects.

Neighbouring peoples also play games during a wake, but these games are never a death rite anxiously kept secret as with the Lawā and Karēn. In Bangkok I have seen people playing a game like draughts during the whole of a wake. Ruth Benedict (1952 : 25) writes that while a dead Thai woman was lying in state, "during seven nights neighbours held wake with the family playing chess and cards". According to Archaimbault (1963 : 3) in southern Laos relatives and friends play during the wake '*mak thot*' (who gets the shorter straw must drink alcohol) or '*mak suea gin mu*' (four tigers eat pigs or are closed in by them); this game at funerals is also mentioned by Phya Anuman Rajadhon and R. Kickert.

The chua la'māng. A second rite, executed in day-time as long as the wake lasts, is the *chua la'māng* (Thai: *ram gra'thob mai* /รำกระทบบไม้, the strike-against-wood dance), known also as the bamboo-clapping dance. Five couples of men (in B. Khōng eventually seven; it must be an odd number) are sitting with two bamboo poles (or rice pestles) each, which they clap rhythmically three times on a wooden frame laid on the ground and then once against each other (fig. 60). Generally this is done in common time. One or two men dance or jump between the poles when they are open, and must take care to evade the clapping together or their ankles might be badly bruised. We were told that it is just the fear of such a mishap which chases the spirit of the dead man when he hears the loud clapping of the poles. In B. Pā Pāē (cf. figure in Srisawasdi 1963 b: p. 170) they said that with this dance, starting daily at 14 or 15^h, a gong is beaten but neither drumming nor singing. In some villages (Umphāi group, B. Pā Pāē, B. La'āng Nuea, B. Dong, B. La'ub) it can only take place if at the funeral a buffalo (or a bull, in B. La'ub) has been sacrificed; in B. Pae' it is even only permitted for a dead *samang* (cf. table 7). This would explain why M.C. Sanidh Rangsit alone had the chance of taking pictures, while other ethnographers were handicapped by having observed 'small custom' funerals only. This bamboo clapping dance is also known from the Karēn in Burma who call it *ta se kle* (Marshall 1922 : 200, with figure).

At the death ritual *tai glai chūē* of the Pwo-Karēn five couples sit in a row with two long bamboos each, which they clap together in a rhythm of three times to the ground and then two

times together. Only men partake, and only one man at a time is dancing over all five clapping bamboo pairs. Every time he changes from one pair to the next he must make a half turn, so that at one time he enters with his left side first and then with his right side. After him another man dances. This dance is only executed at full or new moon, towards sunset of that day, because then the spirit of the deceased person is supposed to be especially strong and to come to fetch its relatives. When it hears the bamboos clapped it is much afraid of getting its feet squeezed, and so stays away.

To the bamboo-clapping dance of the Sgō-Kārēn, Young (ed. 1961: 99; ed. 1974: 78) adds some detail, calling it "a stunt which becomes progressively more difficult as the speed of the rhythm increases". It is executed exclusively at funerals as is the *rakhatla* dance of the Lakher and Haka-Chin, but only profanely by the Lushai (Mizo) and Thado-Kuki (Parry 1932: 405/06). Further examples might be mentioned: the Li of Hainan (Seidenfaden 1952: 90), the Atayal of Taiwan (where I have seen the criss-cross fashion); in the Philippines, the Dayak of Borneo, the east Indonesian islands of eastern Flores, Solor (only women dancing), Adonare and Alor, in the latter only at the great feasts for the dead (Niggemeyer 1963: 6) and the Indonesian-Papuan mixed population in the McCluer Gulf of Irian. In B. B5 Luang it is a school sport, in Bangkok an elegant dance of the Fine Arts School as of the Philippine Bayanihan and other troupes (in the Philippines the 'tinikling' or heron dance is very popular). At the Elephant Round-up at Surin I have seen a man jumping and rolling between the clapping poles doing a stunning acrobatic act. So by now the bamboo-clapping dance has degenerated in many places from a death ritual to an amusement of young people, or to a spectacle performed by professional dancers.

Feeding the dead person. Everywhere it is the custom to feed the dead person during the wake. *Khun* Suchāt said three times a day they put a plate with some food at its side, in a similar way as do Thai, Karēn, Maeo, etc. This food usually consists of a bit of cooked rice, chicken, sometimes even pig. Although the killing of one or more buffaloes is mentioned often, I believe it rather to be a kind of 'bragging'. The Lawā are much poorer now than in past years, and they will consider carefully whether the sacrifice of an expensive buffalo is really a necessity. Consequently, what the informants in the various villages have told about buffalo sacrifices must be doubted.

Before burial the dead person is still fed once in the house (in B. Mūēd Lōng by an old woman), then every year after harvest (at the New Year in October-November) on the path to the burial ground in B. Hō', B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang, B. Pae', B. La'āng Tāi, B. Dong and B. La'ub, so in most of the northern Lawā villages, but always they made the restriction: 'if money available' (for pig or buffalo).

In B. Pae' they sacrifice on the path in a small plate like a *sa'tuang* (cf. II: 195): newly cooked rice and chicken or pig (even a buffalo might be sacrificed) by every family line for their dead, and not all together on the same day. In B. La'āng Nuea a pig or buffalo is sacrificed and a buffalo killed for the guests. In B. La'āng Tāi they come nearer the truth, probably valid for the rest of the villages: yearly after harvest every family gives a small and cheap feeding on the path to all of their *phī la'māng*. They call out: "come on all of our family and eat"!

The southern villages put food into the plate nailed on the *mbueang* when this post is put up immediately after burial and for the following three years at New Year, whereupon the deceased people's spirits must look for themselves. In the plate of a *nām* post food is never offered, in the southern villages, namely in the Umphāi group and B. Sām; it may be assumed in B. Pā Pāē also, though nowhere is anything mentioned for that village (cf. table 7).

Kunstadter (1968: 1-7) has studied in B. Pā Pāē the sociological setting of a funeral which depends mainly on kin connexions. The constant feeding of the dead person's spirit during the wake is alternately carried out by parents, patrilineal relatives, in-laws and related groups (p. 8-9c). In this there is a specific order, and everybody knows when it is his turn and what kind of offering he is supposed to contribute. At every sacrifice the spirit is urgently requested to leave its former home for the other world "because the spirits of the dead should no longer live with and bother the living people" (p. 17). So "one of the major functions of the funeral is to be sure that the spirit leaves the village and does not return to harass the living" (p. 17). It is interesting that the Buddhist expression 'merit' appears no less than five times in these feeding rites.

Obayashi (1966: 252-3) is of the opinion that "death of a man is only completed after going through some stages". He is asking: "have the Lawā the conception that a man as long as the wake is lasting is not yet really dead"? And Kunstadter (1968: 10) points to the obstinacy with which the spirit clings to life: "just as the living show their reluctance in giving up the ghost, so the spirit of the dead person apparently is reluctant to give up his association with the living. The ghost takes its time in leaving for the land of the dead, and collects enough supplies before it goes to start a new existence in its new home."

(d) *Devices to keep the spirit at the grave*

From the foregoing descriptions it is obvious that the spirit of the dead person who has been buried for good must at any price be kept securely in its grave hut. The Lawā have developed three devices to ensure this, which are not used by any other tribe as far as we know.

The dyóksedyá. This object is made of two bamboos, about 50 cm long, slit open at two of their sides and interlocked, then put up on a stick at the grave (fig. 61). It can be erected only for males (children as well as adults) when a buffalo has been sacrificed. Its purpose is to provoke the dead person to, as it might be stated: "check whether you are living or dead. Hang these bamboos asunder, and you can go back home. But if you cannot, you know you are dead, then go to the realm of the dead." Only very few living persons are able to make a *dyóksedyá*, and of course a *phī* of a dead person could not. We did not witness the technique of inextricably interlocking the two bamboos. I found one on the burial ground of Umphāi but, as we were told, it is also known in B. Pā Pāē (not mentioned in literature) and B. Sām; it is only used in southern villages.

The designation *dyóksedyá* is derived from the Thai *chog* (ฉก, to snatch or grab) and *sad* (ศัด, truth, from the Sanskrit: *satya*), so it might mean 'get out the truth'.

The lējog. In the northern villages they have a device called *lējog* (possibly from Thai: *lē/เล่ห์*, trick, and *chog* perhaps meaning 'trick to be solved'). It consists of a flat piece of bamboo from which a string is hanging and on it are threaded three cowries in B. Ho' (for old men and women only, not for children), B. Khōng and B. Pae' (fig. 62), but only two cowries in B. La'āng Nuea, B. Dong and B. La'ub (in the latter not called *lējog* but *mai la'māng/ไม้ละม่าง*, ancestor wood). It is hung from a stick planted at the head end of the grave. Then they proceed as the southern villages with the *dyóksedyá*: they ask the spirit to draw the cowries off the string without damaging it. Should the spirit be able to do it, it can go home, if not, it has got the proof that it is really dead.

In B. Khōng, at the side of the *lējog* a post is put up without a plate on top, called a *sagang* (not *mbueang*) which is to serve to tether buffaloes or cattle in the other world. At the foot end of the grave a little white *tung* flag is placed on which the dead may climb out of hell.

Kunstadter (1965: 25) only once mentions the word *lachock*, connected with the Lawā expression *lachock hngó'*, soul of rice, approximately corresponding to the Thai *khwān khao/ขวัญข้าว*; but it is difficult to find any relation to the meaning of the *lējog* as described.

The la'ga' la'māng. We have only heard about this special kind of offering in four northern villages: B. Góg Luang, B. Pae', B. La'āng Nuea and B. Dong. Probably the expression *la'ga' la'māng* is also of Thai origin: *la'/ละ*, to abandon, desert or leave, and *ga'/กะ* = *กั้นกั้น*, with or for, and *la'māng*, ancestor; perhaps meaning 'leave-taking from an ancestor'.

Villagers in B. Góg Luang gave the following description. On the eve of a burial every family kills a small chicken and drops its blood on a long leaf with very sharp edges. In the process they say to the corpse: "you are no longer our relative [Thai: *rao mai pen phinōng gan/เราไม่เป็นพี่น้องกัน*], please do not come back to our house. But be warned, if ever you try to do so, this leaf will cut your throat."

On the burial day, before the dead person is carried to the graveyard, all the households in the bereaved family line kill a small chicken and divide it uncooked into halves, and they divide a cowrie into halves. On the way to the graveyard they throw half the chicken and half the cowrie away, together with the 'cutting leaves' previously prepared with chicken blood. The other halves they deposit on the grave, saying: "now you are a *phi*, do not go back, stay here in your house. If you still intend to come back, so make this half-chicken and half-cowrie complete again. If you are able to do so, you might come back." The dividing of chickens and cowries could have the symbolic significance of the dividing of property between the living and the dead as mentioned by Kunstadter for B. Pā Pāē (1968).

The same procedure is followed in B. Pae', but in B. La'āng Nuea and B. Dong the 'throat-cutting leaf' was not mentioned, and in B. Dong they leave a half chicken on the path and another half on the grave, and they place a whole cowrie on the grave.

(e) *The posts for the dead*

Often enough we have mentioned the two kinds of ancestor posts erected by the Lawā: the *nām* and the *mbueang*. Walking 15 minutes from B. Yaēg about half-way toward B. Den

(Umphāi group), we found a group of one dozen low posts, *mbueang* (fig. 63), at the left side of the path, and 20 metres farther along on the right a group of about 10 high posts, *nām*, (fig. 64). Some posts of both groups had already tumbled down.

The *nām* posts are 2.0 to 2.3 m high, and have a diameter of 12 to 20 cm. Generally there are three double rings at their upper end, at a distance of 20 to 25 cm from each other. These rings are created by carving three deep grooves (cf. I: 271, fig. 2). At one post more than three double rings had been cut; the Lawā accompanying us laughed and said: "the woodcarver was drunk!" At another post the rings were formed by small carved squares; as this pattern is to be found at *mbueang* and *sagang* (high sacrificial posts on the village plaza) it is difficult to explain if they are lacking here because of carelessness or through weathering. Below the top, one or two bands of sheet metal or iron had been hammered around the post to trick the spirit into believing it to be of gold; still, at an assembly of *nām* near the graveyard at Umphāi Luang I have seen a ring with a golden glitter, and this would contradict the theory of reversal in the spirit world. An explanation, as in so many other cases, was not to be had.

Two cowries had been inserted or hung by a thread at most of the *nām*; when there were none, they must have been lost. I have extensively written on the meaning of the model spears squeezed into clefts of sticks stuck into opposite sides of the *nām* (I: 270-273, fig. 2). These spears serve the spirits of the *samang* in fighting the spirits of the marauding Red Karēn in times gone by. So it is understandable that, at least in the Umphāi group, the *nām* were exclusively set up for male *samang* (never for women), and only under the condition that a buffalo be sacrificed at their death; also that the hardest wood, *kho' gré* (Thai: *mai hag*/ไม้ฮัก, lacquer tree) is used. A deep notch cut out at one side of the *nām* of the *samang* Lung Gaeo (mentioned several times) had the meaning that he was born here and died here as an old man; he had always lived here and had been headman for some time.

A *nām* can only be made by young men able to fight, never by old men. Two men must carry it, accompanied by a group of young men, on the burial day after sunset to the place where the *nām* are standing.¹⁸

The *mbueang* instead is put up for every dead Lawā, man or woman, and the *samangs* also get it, even if a *nām* is denied them because they omitted a buffalo sacrifice. The *mbueang* must be placed separately from the *nām*.

The *mbueang* are 1.0 to 1.2 m high with a diameter of 10 to 12 cm. As a rule they are ringed at their upper part, at a distance of about 25 cm, by two rows each of squares 1 × 1 or 1.5 × 1.5 cm. Of course, there might be deviations; some of them are totally smooth. A cowrie was bound at one of these posts, too.

Nām and *mbueang* alike have ordinary enamel plates nailed on their tops. Generally an empty earthen bottle is put in the plate of the *nām*. The plate must be old and a piece must

18. We first thought the word *nām* could be the Thai word (นาม, name) and the post would be erected for the sake of the name or male lineage. Later we found in Rangsit's (1942/45: 692-3) and Wenk's (1965: 114) vocabularies 'blood' for *nām*, meaning perhaps 'blood of the lineage'. But informants said that *nām* is a Lawā word meaning 'property' (of the *samang* man). This explanation also remains doubtful.

be broken out of the neck of a brand-new bottle to give the spirit a notion in reverse. Sometimes a roughly carved wooden bird or boat is fixed in the plate of a *nām*; the bird will carry the spirit over mountains, the boat over the ocean to the other world. Never will anything be sacrificed in the plate of a *nām*.

The *mbueang* is an offering post. Food is deposited in its plate after the burial, and subsequently for three more years at the New Year after harvest in November. Later the spirit must care for itself. In a *mbueang* plate near B. Den we noted tobacco, cigarettes, sugar (bought in the bazaar), chillies, cooked rice, taro, *miang* (chewing tea), salt and two small bottles, one with water, the other with rice alcohol. *Nāi Lā Lueam* of B. B5 Luang said a *mbueang* is no sacred post, but is used for tethering a buffalo in the next world. The *mbueang* is put up by a special group of men immediately after the dead person is brought to the coffin in front of the *nyoe' nyū* and thence to the burial ground.

Before posts can be erected the *gorid* must sacrifice a red dog for a *nām* in front of the ritual house and two chickens for a *mbueang*. The blood is smeared on the post.

The owner of the house of a deceased person has to pay 25 baht for a *nām* and 15 baht for a *mbueang*. All the foregoing applies to the Umphāi group.

About 500 m behind the eastern village quarter of B. Pā Pāē we turned from the path to Mae Sariang over the rivulet Huai Amlān into a wildly thriving forest. There we found at least three dozen *nām*, not in a row but set up confusedly. Most of them were much decayed and partly fallen, all overgrown by jungle.

Informants said that (as in B. La'ub) in B. Pā Pāē everybody gets a *mbueang*, and a *nām* if a buffalo is sacrificed. So there should have been many more *mbueang*, but we only found one, 1.2 m high with a diameter of 6.0 cm; perhaps others were standing somewhere else and we just missed them.

The *nām* were 2.5 to 3.2 m high (for women somewhat lower). At the top their width must be three 'double fists'; our guide put three times his fist side by side on a folded blade of grass, then unfolding it he laid it around the post: it exactly fitted. On most of the *nām*, at a distance of about 20 cm, three rings of three rows each of small squares were carved. Only at one *nām* were there V-shaped carvings and small indentations (fig. 65a).

Two *nām* were standing in front of the others, distant from each other about 20 cm. The lower one, a woman's post, showed another carving: rows of small knobs (fig. 65b). Both these *nām* were joined in their middle by a piece of wood, "that they might not fall but support each other". On each post was fixed a pair of buffalo horns (fig. 66). In the plate on top was nailed a lying 'chicken', roughly carved from a 2 cm-thick piece of wood (fig. 67). The male *nām* had only one hole at its side for inserting a short stick signifying a spear (cf. Omphāi Luang, I: 271, fig. 2). Food is never given in any plates, but cowrie money for the other world is put into the plates of a *nām*, never of a *mbueang*.

It seems that only in the Umphāi group a *nām* is erected to male *samang* (if a buffalo is sacrificed). In B. Pā Pāē, B. Sām, B. Mūēd Lōng and B. La'ub it is given to all those for whom

a buffalo is slaughtered; the same also in B. B5 Luang. But for many years no buffalo was sacrificed, so that only a *mbueang* could be given. A *mbueang* is erected off-hand for everybody in most villages; only in the southwestern villages of the northern Lawā (the two La'āng villages and B. Dong) a buffalo sacrifice is necessary to get a *mbueang* (cf. table 7).

Ritual treatment of 'evil' death. Until now we have spoken of 'natural' deaths in the house, the preferred circumstances of death and a strong wish of all Lawā. After death they become *phī la'māng* with all the honours and offerings due to them by their kin. But people killed in any kind of accident or at childbirth, as well as people who have died far from home, become *phī sa'aop*, according to Kunstadter (1968: 12). The inhabitants of B. Pā Pāe bury them where they have died, not in a normal cemetery. Their spirits dwell where they are buried, not in the spirit land. They are not fed when food is offered to other ancestral spirits, with two exceptions: (i) when they have died in a cultivated area, and (ii) if divination has indicated that they are the cause of an illness (p. 16). Similarly in the Umphāi group and in B. La'āng Nuea people who have died by accident are buried on the spot without any ceremonies. Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 172) write on Umphāi that for women who die in childbirth no *mbueang* is erected; they are thought to become very evil and fearsome spirits. In B. Mūēd Lōng they believe evil death to be caused by the *phī yum sa'ōēb* ('spirit-die-accident'; Thai: *phī tāi hōng*/ผีตายโหง). In B. B5 Luang we learned that people killed by accident or by 'sorcery' are buried at once, while the others are cremated with Buddhist rites (cf. Obayashi 1966: 264-5).¹⁹

In B. Gōg Luang and B. La'āng Nuea we were told that if a person has died in another village the family, not wanting to have the dead back in their village, must pay 12 rupees to the village headman to buy a grave. To this sum is added 8 rupees for the death ceremonies, as every family has its own customs and will go to the other village to perform them.

Child murder. In B. B5 Luang, if a mother dies in childbirth the surviving baby will be put into a basket, covered with a cloth, and buried alive with her. People believe the child to be an evil spirit which has killed the mother. The government has strictly forbidden such acts, but they still are practised secretly. One of my porters, *Nāi Sī*, was the father in such a situation, and would have indifferently followed the custom if *Khun* Suchāt had not taken away the baby, a girl, and adopted it. In B. Pae' the baby of a mother who died in childbirth was buried alive below a rice barn in the village, while the mother was buried in the graveyard.

When the mother dies in childbirth the Karēn are said to kill the newborn infant by pinching its nose and suffocating it.

(f) *Summary*

Looking at the death rites of the Lawā as a whole, a great similarity among them can be perceived, if somewhat imprecisely in some parts of this narrative (e.g. for B. Tūn and B. Mūēd Lōng). Some rites are spread over the whole Lawā area, some are typical for the southern

19. Archaimbault (1963: 32, 35) writes that in southern Laos people who die by accident, or a woman who dies in pregnancy, must not be cremated but buried on the spot without Buddhist rites. It is not allowed to tie hands and feet of such corpses. And of the Lūē he says (1963: 40, notes 49, 52) that they have the same prohibition of tying hands and feet for somebody killed by a tiger or who has committed suicide by hanging.

group, and others for the northern group. We note here in brief the elements more or less common to all (cf. table 7).

1. The wake generally lasts three days (according to age, wealth or prestige, in some villages it could last until nine days).
2. It seems that everywhere the head of the corpse should lie to the west, in the house or in the grave (in Ɔmphāi Luang it was rather to the north).
3. In the northern villages the *gorid* must announce a case of death to the *phi sabaig* of the *nyoe'nyū*.
4. Death is announced at once to relatives in other villages.
5. Probably in all villages the corpse is wrapped in cloth and bound by threads in four places (or three places and the big toes tied together). These strings are cut before or after putting it into the coffin. A frame of bamboo lattice over the dead person was only noted from B. Ɔmphāi Luang and B. Pā Pāe, but possibly is used in other villages also.
6. Probably everywhere women are wailing and girls singing.
7. Everywhere the dead person is fed daily in the house before burial (in B. Mūed Lōng it must be done by an old widow).
8. Generally coins are put into the mouth of the dead, or additional coins into the hands, on the eyes and ears.
9. During the days of the wake in most villages the *chua la'māng* is executed.
10. During the nights of the wake in most villages the *tarē* is 'played'.
11. The coffin is made by hollowing out a tree trunk. The kind of wood differs according to the use for *samang* or ordinary Lawā.
12. On the coffin lid are inserted coins and cowries; for *samang* it is painted.
13. In northern villages the digging of the grave is begun by Karēn who get a remuneration in cash and kind.
14. All villages have a group of men to help at burials. In the south the corpse is laid into the coffin in front of the *nyoe'nyū* and carried from there to the graveyard. In the north the coffin is brought empty to the grave in the morning. The corpse follows later and is put into it at the graveside.
15. Personal belongings are put into the coffin and buried with the dead person.
16. Over the grave is erected a small hut with thatched roof (a roof of halved bamboo stalks only in B. Sām, after a buffalo sacrifice, and in B. Pae' for a *samang*).
17. Tools or weapons for a man and spinning or weaving implements for a woman are deposited at the grave.

18. Thread-squares, varying in number according to the village, are hung at the grave hut (in B. La'ub for women they are put inside the coffin).
19. Every day during the wake the spirit is admonished to leave and go to his final rest.
20. Devices to keep the spirit at the grave (*dyóksedyá* in the south, *lējog* in the north and *la'ga' la'māng* with the 'throat cutting' leaf also in the north) are put up at the grave or laid down on the path to the graveyard.
21. For everybody in the south and in the southern villages of the north a low post, *mbueang*, is put up. In villages of the south (including B. Sām) a high post, *nām*, is erected after a buffalo sacrifice (in B. Ōmphāi Luang only for male *samang*).
22. After burial, food for the spirit is given for three years in the plate of the *mbueang* in B. Ōmphāi Luang and B. Sām; but in the north, from B. Hō' to B. La'ub, it is given yearly on the path to the burial ground.
23. Everywhere people come after burial to the house of mourning, bringing with them rice, salt, *miang* or money. Young people can sleep there, and through flirting they may make the choice of a marriage partner.
24. As a rule small children are buried without ceremony (an exception observed in B. Chāngmō Manōd), in a separate part of the burial ground.
25. All Lawā are in terrible awe of the *phi* of dead people in the graveyard, and never like to indicate where the graveyard is located.

E. THE LAWĀ ART OF WOODCARVING

The Lawā excel at woodcarving, an art which apparently no other hill people has tried. As regards weaving, the costumes of the Lawā are rather modest. They know how to make *ikat* weavings, mostly for women's skirts (Obayashi 1964: 201; Kunstadter *et al.* 1978: under 'Weaving'). The Lawā may be far surpassed by other hill tribes in north Thailand in wealth of colourful apparel and adornment (cf. Campbell *et al.* 1978), but they are the only ones known as artistic woodcarvers.

Entering a southern Lawā village, especially one in the Umphāi group, one is struck by the presence of many kinds of highly artistic carvings: at the *sagang* on the plaza, the house horns, the carved beams and posts in the ritual houses, the small figures on the gable fronts, and then, in the northern villages by the splendidly carved wooden lintels over many doors.

The carvings of the Lawā are composed of two elements: one that is to be reckoned to the megalithic complex inherent in the Lawā culture (Steinmann and Rangsit 1940: 165; Kauffmann 1971), and the other deriving from an early, brief contact with Buddhist people in the plains, be they Mōn or Thai.

1. *Megalithic influences*

(a) *The posts*

The most competent scholar of the megalithic complex in southeast Asia, Robert Heine-Geldern, has stated (1959: 165) that associated with it is a style of monumental and symbolic art (cf. Kauffmann 1962a: 91; and 1971: 137). This becomes apparent with the Lawā in different ways, as follow.

Let us look at the memorial posts for the dead, the *nām* and *mbueang*, and at the lower parts of the sacrificial posts, the *sagang*, of the southern Lawā. Not only do we find many of them ringed by little squares or saw-like teeth, in Lawā called *sai* (fig. 68), typical for megalithic art (Kauffmann 1962a: 96, C.1), but also the division of the posts in three sections, each between 25 and 35 cm high, reminiscent of the so-called torus posts (Wulstpfähle, Kauffmann 1962a: 90) which, according to my studies, are also an element of megalithic art.²⁰ The first authors speaking of three rings cut in regular distances into the lower part of the *sagang* were Steinmann and Rangsit (1939 : 170).

The flat upper parts of the *sagang* show megalithic symbols, alternately rosettes and spearheads (Kauffmann 1962a: 96 B. 3, 97 D. 5) but the designs are diversified. They go from a very sober, even abstract style in B. Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 69) over a more natural style in B. Chāngmō Manōd (fig. 70, left post) to a curved form of a kind of vases in B. Chāngmō Luang (fig. 71, left post) and finally to a fanciful play of forms in B. Ōmphāi Luang (fig. 72). In figure 71 only the pointed top could be interpreted as a spearhead, while the other *sagang* mostly have a triple point. "Remarkable also are the prongs, jags or teeth alongside the upper parts of the *sagang*" which are to be found on sacrificial posts of other peoples, from southeastern Asia to the Pacific islands (Steinmann and Rangsit 1939: 170). This is reminiscent of what I call notched posts (Kerbpfosten, Kauffmann 1962a: 91), presumably belonging to the megalithic complex as well. These prongs are to be seen on all pictures of the southern *sagang* (fig. 69-73, best on 70 and 73). And in the carved middle of the left post at B. Ōmphāi Luang (fig. 72) is a V-spiral, the *hē* symbol (see "Death rites" section).

Finally, an important comparison can be made with figures 70 and 73. The shape of the only *sagang* of B. Pā Pāe brought down from a Chāngmō village is much like that of the right post in B. Chāngmō Manōd. At least in both *sagang* what elsewhere may be called spearheads are here very clumsily produced pieces of wood, not dissimilar to a sausage. While in B. Chāngmō Manōd they still are separated by rosettes, there are none in B. Pā Pāe. One could assume that decoration from the western village part of B. Pā Pāe, the Chāngmō quarter, was derived from B. Chāngmō Manōd rather than from B. Chāngmō Nōi as has been suggested. Apart from the four megalithic symbols mentioned above, i.e. the rings of squares or teeth, spearheads, rosettes

20. Schuster (1968: 88, 97) had the idea that multibodied images are nothing else but representations of a genealogy in the form of 'family trees'. The so-called *kima* or memorial posts for the dead under houses of the Garo in Assam (Meghalaya) "appear as a succession of ridges, and the limbs are apparently neglected". Schuster gives the example of the Garo among many other tribes on his figure 43 after Playfair (1909: pl. facing 113). It shows that the *kima* are a kind of short 'torus post' with three rings reminiscent of the three rings on Lawā posts.

and the prongs at the edges of the upper parts, in most of the *sagang* carvings no megalithic motif can be traced. The artistic forms in the upper part of the *sagang* belong to another style of art.

The *sagang* of the southern Lawā must always stand in pairs. The single *sagang* of B. Tūn, photographed by M.C. Sanidh Rangsit (1945: 493), and of B. Ōmphāi Luang shown by Funke (1960: 143), have meanwhile both got their partner, proven by photographs I took in 1969. There are double-carved posts in B. Ōmphāi Luang, B. Den, in all three Chāngmō villages and in B. Tūn. In B. Dong there are even three *sagang* (I: fig. 13), only in B. Pā Pāē there is but a single one (Obayashi 1964a: fig. 10) but from figure 5b in Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 170) it can be seen that in B. Mapae (B. Pā Pāē) there were formerly two *sagang* also (cf. I: 302). In B. La'ub there is a special contrivance: on the plaza there stand three high, single posts appertaining to the three ritual houses; these *sagang* have no carving as in the southern villages, but a pointed top and below some rows of thick knobs (Obayashi 1964a: fig. 11; I: 301).

The *sagang* of the northern villages are quite different; they are shorter and stouter, and their top is always cut flat. While there is nothing of the beautiful carvings on the upper part as in the southern villages, some kind of pattern is cut into them (Kauffmann 1972a: fig. 9; 1972b: 231, fig. 3). On the *sagang yong mombē*, belonging to the ritual house of the same name in B. Pae' (fig. 74; cf. I: 295-6) there are, apart from the thick knobs as in B. La'ub, rows of a semicircular form as they are found on a *nām*-post in B. Pā Pāē (fig. 65a). It is not known if this peculiar form has any special meaning.

Leaving aside the esthetic point of view, the opportunity should be taken here to recall the religious significance of the *sagang*. Rangsit (1945: 494) states that "the sacrificial posts . . . are the dwelling place of the highest village spirit. Buffaloes and cattle to be slaughtered are tethered to them and killed with a spear." These brief remarks reveal that: (i) the *sagang* are meant to be the seat and property of the highest village spirit, and (ii) at the *sagang* only buffaloes and cattle may be sacrificed. So all the reports of offerings of pigs (Funke 1960: 143) or chickens (Kunstadter 1965: 41) at the *sagang* are, according to all my informants, definitely wrong. And at big sacrifices the *sagang* are adorned with green leaves of a special kind (fig. 68; cf. II: 195, B. Pā Pāē; 205, B. Tūn for use of leaves in rites; and cf. Riesenfeld 1950, Melanesia).

Buffaloes for marriages or death rites must be killed at any place outside the village. At a marriage at Chāngmō Luang in 1962 one was killed on a steep slope in the forest near the village. At funeral rites a bit of the ears, muzzle, tail and legs is cut off and laid on a winnowing basket at the grave. At the big buffalo sacrifices a pig is never killed; they serve as offerings at weddings and ordinary sacrifices to spirits.

Obayashi (1964: 205) writes that the big buffalo sacrifices for the village spirit take place "at a certain interval from 5 to 50 years"; and Kunstadter (1965: 41) relates that people from the Chāngmō group travel to B. Pā Pāē about the middle of July to "make a sacrifice to . . . *phī sapajc*, using a buffalo every fifth year, and chickens the other four years. The Chang Maw ceremony starts when all families bring cooked chickens to the Chang Maw ceremonial house . . . After the spirits have been fed, each family takes its chicken home to eat." I do not believe

that at present the great buffalo sacrifice can still be held at intervals of five years. I have already made related remarks (I: 261, 293, 298, 302), as well as on the *sagang* in general (I: 283-4).²¹

There is yet another viewpoint concerning the *sagang*: *Khun* Suchāt, our guide, said (according to the informants *Nāi* Kham Sug, *phūchuai* of B. Yaēg, and *Nāi* Sútha of B. Tūn) that every Lawā village at its foundation puts up a *sagang* for the village spirit. On such an occasion, or when a new post is put up to replace an old one, a big buffalo sacrifice is held, and thereafter only at long intervals.

(b) *The rice-husking troughs*

The hard daily work of husking rice with a pestle in a large wooden mortar by two or three women, as it is still mostly done by the Lawā, has become rather rare in the northern Thai hills. It has been superseded increasingly by the originally Chinese 'stepping mortar' (so called by Obayashi [1964: 22]) or 'foot mill' (Kunstadter 1965: 14); in Thai: *khrog gra'dueang*/ครกกระเดื่อง, and Northern Thai: *khrog mōng tam khāo*/ครกมองตำข้าว. It is a hulling instrument of a very simple description: a lever is treaded by a woman or a child and, as the heavy hammer attached in front falls back, it pounds the rice in a trough placed below.

Though the Lawā in some places work with the ubiquitous ordinary mortar of an artless cylindrical shape, they often use a heavy basin-like form, nicely sculptured with a 'torus' or pad (fig. 75). As they are never seen anywhere in the northern Thai hills, with the single exception of the Karēn village of B. Gōng Pāē, they can be regarded as typically Lawā. The best forms are to be found in the Umphāi group, but even there differences exist: compare the good form of the old mortar in B. Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 75) with another one of the same village (fig. 76) which is angular and not smoothly rounded. In some places the plain mortars of the Karēn or other tribes have come into use and are slowly replacing the more artistic ones. In one village I even saw an ordinary mortar used while a sculptured one stood forlorn nearby.

The measurements of a sculptured mortar are about 42 cm in height, 45 cm in diameter of the base, and 20 cm in diameter of the centre cavity.

As far as we saw during our short stay, without a meticulous search of the villages, in B. Sām only two or three sculptured mortars were sighted and they were not so carefully done as those in the Umphāi group; the other mortars were of a simple type. In B. Gōg Luang a sculptured mortar stood at the headman's house. Nothing of that kind was in B. La'āng Nuea, and in B. La'āng Tāi we saw only one rather badly made; the rest were plain. But a bit more to the south, in B. Dong, all mortars were sculptured; also in B. La'ub there were some sculptured ones.

21. According to Hallett (1890:57) the two Lawā *yak* (ยักษ์, ogre or giant) Pu-Sa and his wife Ya-Sa, living on Doi Suthep, were said to be the spirits of an ancient Lawā king and queen. At their deaths they became guardian spirits of the hills, procuring water for the fields, and they would insist upon having human sacrifices made to them. Under the influence of the Lord Buddha they gave up this evil practice, and contented themselves with buffaloes. The buffalo sacrifice, after all of Lawā origin, has continued until recent times.

These sculptured mortars with their torus ought as well to be considered as exemplifying megalithic art. While many ethnic groups are known to take great pains in decorating their household utensils by carving or painting, it is remarkable that the Lawā do so much work for just their rice-husking mortars—all the tribes around them have chosen the easier way of manufacturing plain cylindrical troughs. The question arises why the Lawā are so different from their neighbours in this respect. I think they must have inherited this way of doing things from their ancestors. Waves of megalithic ideas might have been passed to them many hundreds of years ago, and thus the mortar with the torus became one of their traditions, the same as other megalithic peculiarities such as the menhirs, *sagang*, buffalo sacrifices, and their various special artistic motifs.

(c) *Carvings in the ritual houses*

On the posts and girders in most of the ritual houses of the southern Lawā there are carved, among others, some typically megalithic motifs. Funke (1960:142) has remarked of B. Ōmphāi Luang: "the beams, posts, and girders in the men's community house are richly carved with ornaments and magic symbols". Of the latter only two might be identified here: the V-spiral which we find twice, once in a multiple (fig. 78) and once in the *hē* form (fig. 79), spoken of earlier (see "Death rites") and as a detail of a *sagang* post in B. Ōmphāi Luang (see preceding section 'a'). Another magic symbol could be the spectacular appearance of lizards (Kauffmann 1962a: 97, E.2) in the *nyoe' nyū* of B. Ōmphāi Luang (fig. 81), B. Yāeg (fig. 82 and 82a, highly stylized), B. Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 83, stylized, and fig. 84, high relief), B. Chāngmō Luang and B. Tūn (both high relief). The lizard design mentioned also in Obayashi (1964: 205) has already specially been spoken of by Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 168), that it is found, among other places in the community house, on "the carved upper parts of the high *sagang* posts", but just there we have never seen any.

The lizard is a "truly universal megalithic symbol" (Kauffmann 1962a: 103-4) as it is also found with the Naga, Rhadé, on Nias and Mentawai, with the Toradja in Sulawesi (Celebes), in the Manggarai on Flores, with the Belu on eastern Timor end especially with the Batak in northern Sumatra; for these latter the lizard is valued as protector of the rice barns. Its widely diffused appearance is impressive proof of the migratory theory of cultural traits.

From an esthetic point of view, the wooden lizards testify to the skill of the old Lawā carvers. The lizards, cut in relief, are done in a realistic way in B. Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 84) and in B. Tūn where the only two carvers still known by name in the whole of the Lawā hills have been working (cf. I: 289); nowhere else is any living artist remembered. On the other hand, just as artistic are the highly stylized lizards in B. Yāeg (figs. 82, 82a) and Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 83). The big rosette in B. Den (fig. 85) demands a great deal of skill in carving, while in B. Chāngmō Luang most carvings are to be found of all *nyoe' nyū* (fig. 86); here fantasy has prevailed, resulting in lots of waves or scrolls (cf. I: 288).

2. The free artistic style

(a) Gable ornaments

There is a great variety of small, carved pieces of wood used to keep the triangular plaited gable wall from falling down (I: 262, 263 fig. 1).

(b) House horns

Lawā informants told us that the first Lawā couple descended from a big snake which were, they thought, represented on Lawā houses by sculptured 'house horns' called *galae* (*golae*, *kholae*). These are worked out at the upper ends of long boards, forming both gables in front and rear of the house and stretching out over the ridge pole. The myth of a snake being at the origin of the Lawā could nowhere be verified, but that it has become part of the corpus of mythology might be understandable, as many Lawā have seen Buddhist temples on the eaves of which are snakes ending in the head of the *nāga*. Their gables are also topped by a *chōfā* (ဆုတံဆိပ်) which are "pointed heads of the Naga... with a piece like a gracefully curved finger pointing upwards" (McFarland 1944: 283).

The house horns of the northern Thai can still be seen on some houses in Chiang Mai (fig. 87). Nimmanahaeminda (1966: 133) writes that they are "called Ga Le (glancing crows) by the Tai Yuan of North Thailand, and Ge Le (glancing pigeons) by the Tai Yuan of Rajpuri". He then hints at the occurrence of house horns in a few Lawā and Akha villages, and similar constructions, he says, are to be found in the Shan States, in the Wa State, Assam, Sumatra and even Japan. "Tai Lü houses in Sipsong Panna in southern China and in Laos also possess the traditional horns."²²

"Their real meaning has not yet been firmly established, though it is thought to represent a pair of buffalo horns. In truth, the house itself may represent the strong body of this Asian beast of burden" (Bceles and Sternstein 1966: 19). This of course is another mythical theory, substantiated by the idea that the wooden lintels over the doors, of which are referred to later, represent the testicles of said buffalo. It seems that all elements of the house together make up a strong buffalo. But why then are the house horns called *galae*? And how about the many small and rather weak houses in northern Thailand? It might be a theory contrived by rich people who established huge houses, as for example the Kamthieng House in the compound of the Siam Society.

House horns of the Lawā are simply decorations: anyone who wants to have them can set them up. Totally foreign to them is the idea of the Angami Nagas that house horns are an honorific mark for a man having given a big, expensive 'feast of merit' within the frame of the megalithic complex.

22. I must admit that, with the exception of the Angami Nagas in Nagaland (formerly belonging to Assam), I have only visited an Akhā and a Karo Batak village where I did not see house horns. But in Campbell *et al.* (1978: 43) house horns of the Akhā are pictured: below there are two spirals turning outward (together forming a V-spiral) and above them two spirals turn inward. As a whole it is a modest sight without any resemblance to the house horns of the Lawā or northern Thai.

A house horn normally should have three curves: from the base outward-inward-outward, finishing with a pointed end. When the house horns are formed in this way, both horns come together at the base in a bow. But this is not always the case. In Nimmanahaeminda (1966: pl. Ia) the horns on the house to the right are correct (as they are on plate II), providing a good example; but on the house to the left (pl. Ia) the horns seem to go the other way round: inside - outside - inside.²³

It is astonishing that of all house horns in the Lawā villages, in precisely the foremost place, B. Ōmphāi Luang, one house has both horns wrongly positioned (fig. 97); from them are dangling rattan chains of six and eight rings, a device not remarked anywhere else, and on the top point seems to be sitting a kind of bird. In general, the execution of house horns mainly depends on the artist and may vary widely—one can even speak of local styles (e.g. in B. Dong).

Below I give a list of the house horns from village to village, as we passed through the area (cf. I: 238); the drawings start with the inferior ones and end with the best two examples.

1. *Umphāi group*. There are many *galae*. The horns of B. Yāeg (fig. 96) shown here have a similar style to that of B. Ōmphāi Luang (fig. 97). The horns of B. Chāngmō Luang (fig. 88) with the most and best carvings in the *nyoe'nyū* surprisingly are the most primitive ones: they have only lines outside-inside, and are not decorated with carving of any description.

2. *B. Tūn*. In the old village only one house has *galae*, but there are some in the new one.

3. *B. Sām*. Here, as in B. Dong, the *galae* are called *dub*. Everybody is allowed to set them up; each pair costs 10 baht, as in the Umphāi group. In B. Dong and B. Bō Luang the price is 20 baht. Unfortunately in B. Sām there is no one to perform the work.

4. *B. Mūed Lōng*. Only two houses still have *galae* (*kolae*), but one pair is a very beautiful piece of handicraft (fig. 98).

5. *B. Gōg Nōi*. Only one house has *galae* (fig. 91); the other houses have just crossed bamboos protruding about 30 cm. There is a lack of *galae* because the old ones have rotten away, and at present there are no more skilled carvers. The one remaining *galae* is broad and bulky, and has only two directions of movement: outside - inside.

6. *B. Hō'*. Of 26 Lawā houses (20 houses on the upper west side are Karēn) only five or six have *galae*, but no more than two pairs are good. On figure 95 the curved ends are drawn in an open circle and so form hooks on their reverse sides.

7. *B. Khōng*. There are no *galae*, because no carvers live in the village.

8. *B. Gōg Luang*. There are no *galae* nor wooden lintels, only crossed bamboos sticking out over the gable 20 to 30 cm. Wood working of any kind is here forbidden, everything

23. In Boeles and Sternstein (1966), on the first folding leaf, left side, detail C (1:10), is a good drawing of *galae* from the Khamthieng House. Figure 31 shows a finial (*ka leh*) of a northern Thai house made of two beams 158 cm long and 33 cm wide. It is an excellent piece of carving and shows clearly that the movement must go, from the base, outside - inside - outside.

must be made of bamboo with the exception of the wooden house posts. Only Chinese Hō have used wooden planks for their two houses, but not the Lawā.

9. *B. Pae'*. There are *galae*. The horns on figure 92 recall those on figure 91 from B. Gōg Nōi in their shortness, but they have three movements: the two outside curves nearly abut and do not leave much space for the inside curve which boasts some kind of leaves.

10. *B. La'āng Nuea*. Three or four houses have *galae*, and especially on one house they swing elegantly upwards (fig. 99). These horns are perhaps even more attractive than those of B. Mūēd Lōng. They could have been carved by the same artist.

11. *B. La'āng Tāi*. In this smallest of all villages only one pair of *galae* exists.

12. *B. Dong*. There are many *galae*, here called *dub*, of a special style. Both sides of the horns of the *galae* on the west side of the village (fig. 93) have absolutely flat and stylized curves; from the inside of the curves little pegs protrude (from the lower outside curve there are two, from the two following ones three), and the last curve ends in a straight line more than 20 cm high. The *galae* on the north side of the village have a similar pattern, but the curves are more fluid. In this village probably two carvers have been at work.

There is no rule for setting up house horns, they serve simply ornamental purposes. One asks a relative to make the horns, as there is no carver. Two pairs cost 20 baht, but the wood must be procured or paid for separately.

13. *B. La'ub*. There are no *galae*, as in B. Khōng and B. Gōg Luang. The gable boards are crossed, protruding about 20 cm.

14. *B. Pā Pāē*. There are only a few *galae* and not specially good ones, with the exception of those on the headman's house (fig. 90). One *galae* (fig. 89) has no open work; the three curves are indicated by spirals separated by lines, an original, simplified idea. If that were not so both boards, left and right, would erroneously be alike, not yielding a mirror-image as it should be; the horn at the right should at least have its spirals inverted.

(c) *Wooden lintels*

In some Lawā villages there are beautifully carved lintels over the door to the inner room. More than anywhere else they are to be found in B. Bō Luang and in the northern villages, made from *kho' lōg*. The Thai call such work *mai gae'salag* (ไม้แกะสลัก, carvings), but the northern Thai have a special name: *ham yon*. The Siam Society has acquired a collection of about seven dozen of such works.

Nimmanahaeminda (1966: 147) writes that "the wooden lintels over the doorway to the room were carved in designs which must have tried to express the significance of the room. *Ham* means testicles and *Yon* (in Sanskrit *yantra*) means 'magic design' such as a charm or talisman to ward off evil... the *Yon* represents power over evil in humans as well as in spirits." He adds that the *ham yon* are testicles with magical strength, and, as the house becomes older, the testicles become more powerful. A new owner would beat them hard to

destroy the magical power incorporated in them under the old owner, as it might not be good for the new one. "This beating of the lintel or testicles of the house is a symbolic castration rite." Supernatural magic or spirits in *ham yon* are entirely different from ancestor spirits within the house, which are never worshipped or made regular offerings.

"The lintels were carved of teak by local artists", continues Nimmanahaeminda (p. 148). But before setting to work the houseowner has to offer food, flowers and candles to the supernatural power and invite it to come to the house. Then the size of the board is fixed: a narrow door is three times the foot-length of the proprietor, a big door four times. Who decided on the design, and how was the tradition of passing it on, remains uncertain. Probably the *ham yon* have not been produced for more than 60 years.

Boeles and Sternstein express a similar view (1966: 19): "the twin teak carved oblong panels... have a sacred function in that they serve as protector for those passing the night inside... The sculptors were devout men who understood Theravada Buddhism... and were conversant with the Ramakien themes" (p. 21). "About the date and the style and the exact provenance of these pieces little can be said with certainty at present" (p. 21).

Coming back to the Lawā lintels, that from B. Gog Nōi (fig. 100), said to be not older than two generations, shows a lotus bud with a scroll of stylized leaf-work on each side. On the lintel from B. Pae' (fig. 101) a half-opened lotus is depicted with a full-blown lotus flower at each side. On this lintel is to be seen a very frequent peculiarity: the upper quarter part of it, filled with scrolls, is separated from the main motif by a broad fillet of bare wood. Lotus and scrolls are very common motifs on lintels, showing the Buddhist origin of this art.²⁴

In Thai art there are arabesques of interlaced leaves and branches called *kanok* (กนก) or *gra'nog* (กรรจนก), *lāi gra'nog* (ลายกรรจนก), as explained by Phrombhichitr (1952: 2), and there are also the *lāi hoh* (patterns of the Hoh tribe), scrolls from which leaves are split off (Thewaphinimit 1974: 65, no. 2). This might recall the theme of house horns. In Thai art we thus can find some similarities or even identities in the pattern of the scrolls.

But as the art of the lintels is clearly Buddhist we should look to an older art, that of the Mōn who had been in contact with the Lawā long before the Thais came and had brought to many of them the Buddhist faith (Nimmanahaeminda 1971). Dupont (1959: texte, p. 52) writing on the Mōn of Dvāravatī remarks: "*de nombreux boutons de lotus ont été retrouvés le long du parement extérieur du monument*" du Wat Phra' Men, hauteur moyenne 20 cm. "*Ils représentent une fleur soit fermée, avec pétales et sépales serrés, soit entrouverte avec le bouton apparent*" (fig. 64-69). Concerning the scrolls or interlaced ornaments, he notes (p. 85): "*Les volutes isolées (fig. 234-237)... (les plus grosses atteignent 30 à 35 cm)... montrent une feuille avec bords découpés et frisés dessinant un enroulement principal, accompagné parfois des enroulements secondaires de petits segments.*" Good examples of scrolls are nos. 234-237 of Wat P'ra Pat'on, and those of no. 237 (right) and no. 274 (left) of Wat Yai.

24. Nimmanahaeminda (1966) has quite a number of relevant photographs. The best lotus buds, apart from another dozen good ones, are on plate VIIc and on plates VIIIi and VIIIj; two volutes are on VIIu, IXe and IXg (no buds, leaves in high relief), Xb (no bud), and with even four contrarotating volutes on XIIb.

It could well be that an esthetic tradition exists, reaching far back into the past. Presumably the lintels are mostly monks' work. The same as with the house horns, and other objects we have mentioned in this paper, the influence of northern Thai culture and of Buddhism on the Lawā is notable. How the Lawā came to their lintels, whether they produced such beautiful art themselves or if they brought it with them from the plains, we do not know. In any case, in spite of all north Thai and Buddhist influences, the peoples in the hills are proud in maintaining their own traditional art forms.

GLOSSARY

chua la'māng (Lawā), *ram gra'thob mai* (Thai) : jumping dance between bamboo bars clapped together, for the dead.

chōfā (Thai): *nāga* heads pointing high up on the gables of temples.

dyóksedyá: two slit bamboos interlocked firmly, for a test to the dead; sometimes erroneously used for *pīn*.

galae: (a) carved horns on house gable; (b) crossed bamboos for propping up the ridge piece on the grave hut.

gorīd, *gaurīd* (B. La'ub: *puirīd*): see *tonhīd*.

ham yon (N. Thai): testicle (Skt. *yantra*), carved boards over the doors to protect the inmates.

hē (Lawā): V-spiral of not clearly defined significance.

jāu ngāu: head of ancestor rule, northern Lawā for *tonhīd*.

kanok, *gra'nog*, *lai gra'nog* (Thai): arabesques of interlaced leaves.

kho' phī yum (Lawā): coffin ("wood-spirit-dead").

kho' khro (Lawā): see footnote 3; Thai: *mai ngiu*.

kho' reni: see footnote 3; Thai: *ma' faen*.

khruang gōēd: hanging cloths above the corpse's head.

khwǎn (Thai): essential life element in man and animals.

krimo (Umpāi Lawā): digging stick.

lacong thia (Lawā of B. Pā Pāē): device made of bamboo sticks with appendages, for the dead.

lāē (Lawā): wailing of women at the side of a corpse.

la'ga' la' māng (Lawā): half a chicken and half a cowrie on the path to graveyard, other half on grave; some villages add a "cutting leaf" on the path.

lām (Lawā): assistant headman; in B. Pā Pāē the leader of a constituent village, in B. La'ub and B. Bō Luang announcer or herald of the *samang*.

- la' māng, phī la' māng* (Lawā): ancestor spirits.
- lamói lue'* (Lawā): great burial ground, *lamói tia*: small burial ground in B. Pae'.
- lējog* (Lawā): three (or only two) cowries linked firmly by a string for a test to the dead; in B. Mūēd Lōng also for thread-square.
- lūt* (Lawā of B. Pā Pāē): large, final offering after burial.
- mai la' māng* (Lawā of B. La'ub): see *lējog*.
- mbah nyaa* (Lawā of B. Pā Pāē): offering altar in the house for the spirit after burial.
- mbong byang* (Lawā), *pīn* (Thai): thread-squares for the dead.
- mbueang* (Lawā): memorial and feeding post for the dead; low post.
- miang* (N. Thai): leaves of a special kind of wild tea, fermented and rolled, chewed with a grain of salt, sometimes also sweetened.
- nām* (Lawā): ancestor post for a dead male *samang*; high post.
- ngīu* (Lawā): low sacrificial post in front of the *nyoe' nyū*.
- nyoe' nyū* (Lawā): ritual house. In B. Sām, B. La'āng Tai and B. Pā Pāē often called *lād*. Also guest house in the southern group where big enough and in good repair.
- pa gaung to* (*pū gang to*, Lawā), *săbpārōē* (Thai): gravedigger.
- phākhāumā* (Thai): checkered cloth for varied uses (head, loins, etc.).
- phī* (Thai): spirit, ghost.
- phī sa'aop* (Lawā): spirits of people who have died an evil death, or far from home.
- phī yum sa'āb* (Lawā), *phī tāi hōng* (Thai): spirit causing evil death.
- phū chuai* (Thai): assistant headman, often also called *lām*.
- piā' poeng tā guad liang nueng nōng* (Lawā of B. La'ub): burying group of six old women.
- pīn* (Thai): see *mbong byang*.
- ram gra'thob mai* (Thai): see *chua la' māng*.
- rāmōēs* (Lawā): tearing out the part of the house floor on which a corpse had been lying.
- rangōng* (Umpāi Lawā), *phrāto* (Thai): billhook, chopping knife.
- sabaig, phī sabaig* (*sabai', sabaid, sabait*), (Lawā): *nyoe' nyū* spirit.
- saeng* (B. Pā Pāē, N. Thai): board game for winning or losing, ritually played at a wake.
- sagang* (Lawā): high post; carved and double in the south, uncarved and single in the north, for tethering buffalo or cattle bulls as sacrifice to the village spirit; in B. Pae' also in front of the *nyoe' nyū* for the *phī sabaig*.
- sagang la'*: the big post which is carved (see *sagang*).
- sai* (Lawā): little squares or saw-like teeth surrounding ritual posts.
- samang* (Lawā): higher social layer of feudal descent, spiritual leader.
- sa'tuang* (N. Thai): small tray for offerings to spirits (cf. II: 195).
- siang* (Lawā): see *tarē*.
- sompōi* (Thai): toasted acacia pods used for making lustral water (cf. II: 200).

suai dōg (Thai): leaf cone with offerings.

tā guad liag nueng nōng (Lawā): burial group of 18 old men in B. Dong, and 21 old men in B. La'ub.

talāeo (Thai), *talia* (Lawā): sign of prohibition for men and spirits made in various forms with bamboo splinters in open plaiting.

ta'nóg (northern Lawā): sacrificer who prays and offers to the spirits (cf. I:280-1; in B. Mūed Lōng it was *Nāi Chuen Mōsī*, whose father was a Khamu').

tarē or *siang* (Lawā), *sūekhē* or *saeng* (Sgō-Karēn): ritual 'game' in a winnowing basket, for the dead.

thāēb: one *thāēb* = one silver rupee = 10 to 13 baht.

tonhid (Thai): preserver of ancient customs (s. *gorid*, *jāu ngāu*). In villages without *samang* the *tonhid* takes over his duties, announcing date and time of sacrifices. The rank goes from father to son; age is of no importance. So in B. Mūed Lōng the *samang* Amí, 30 years old in 1969, is at the same time the *tonhid*.

tung (N. Thai): white Buddhist flag on graves.

win (N. Thai): copper coin worth 12 satang, from the Shan States.

yūeam (*lāe lāe*) (Lawā): singing (and wailing) at a wake.

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Figure 38. Death drums and gong are beaten in the ritual house of B. Omphāi Luang; inside the gong is a drawing for the death 'game' *tarē*. (7.2.1964)



Figure 39. Beating of death drums in the ritual house of B. Chāngmō Manōd. (31.12.1968)

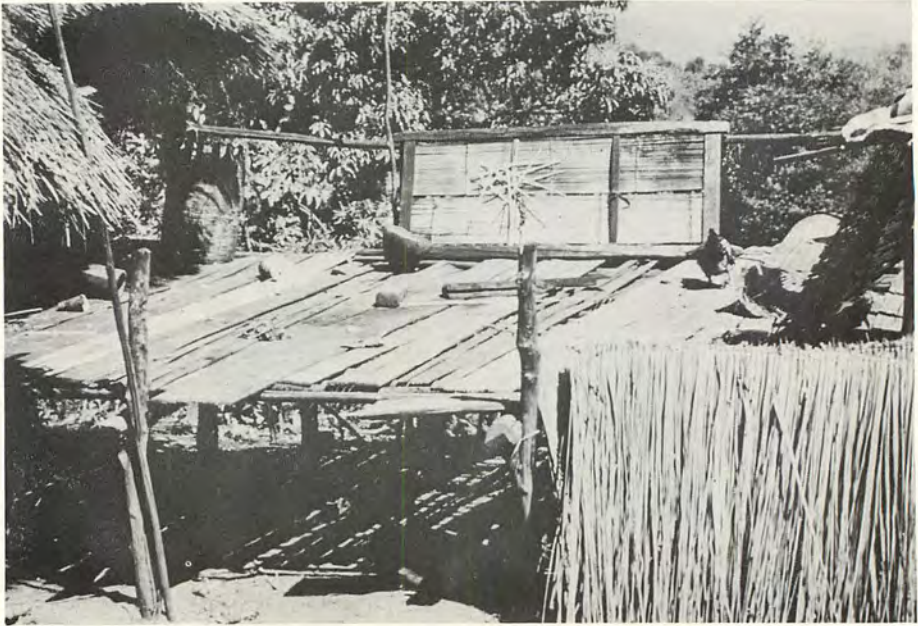


Figure 40. The door of the dead boy's house taken out and put up on the terrace; a *talāeo* for the door spirit is fixed on it.

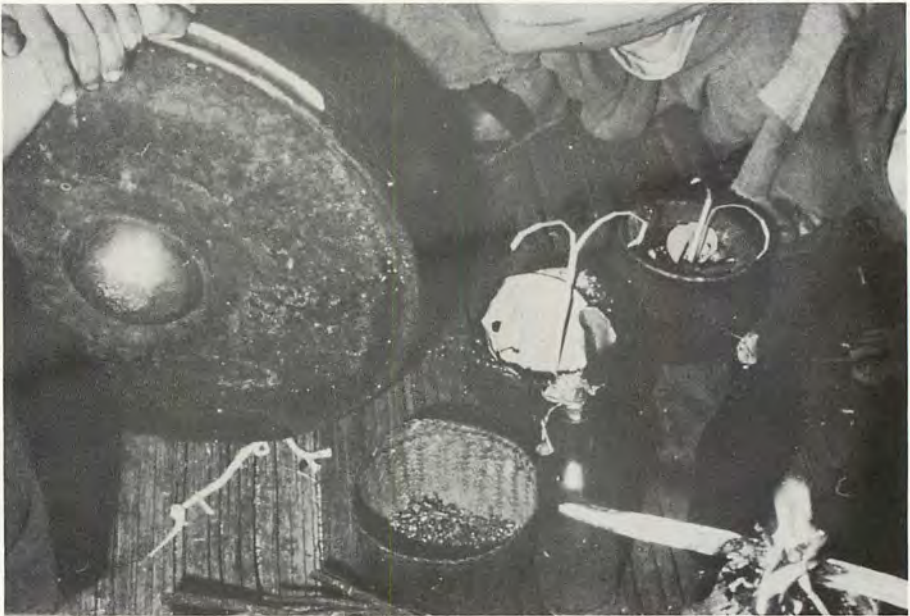


Figure 41. The *hē* offering and the big gong on the terrace.

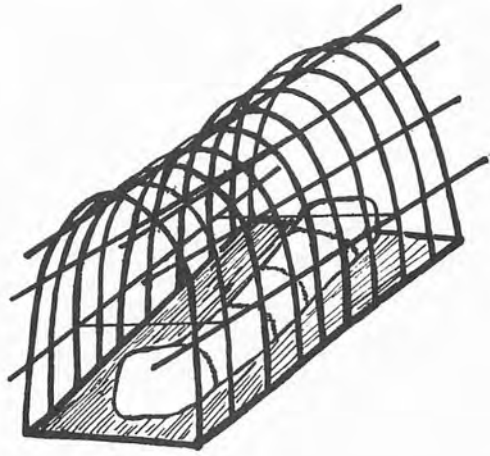


Figure 42a. Mourners crowding around the corpse under its canopy; above the head of the corpse are the cloths lent by the family line.



Figure 42b. Abstract of the corpse wrapped in cloths and bound in four places; two bamboo strings keep the canopy in form.



Figure 43. Making a coffin in B. Ǿmphāi Luang: a trunk is split into halves by driving wedges.



Figure 44. The *gorīd Nāi Pūd* (foreground left) is measuring length and breadth of the coffin.



Figure 45. One half of the coffin is about ready.



Figure 46. Half the coffin is nearly finished and being trimmed on the outside; *Nāi Pūđ* is holding it.



Figure 47. A black thread is drawn through a hole in the protruding end of the coffin.



Figure 48. The bundle of 25 thread-squares hung up in the ritual house of B. $\text{Omph\aa}i$ Luang; carvings on the underside of the beams. (9.2.1964)

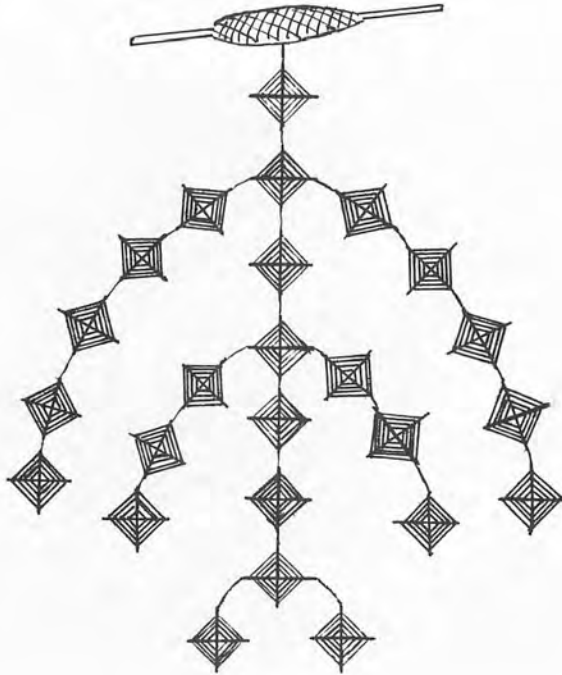


Figure 49. The system of distribution of the 25 thread-squares.

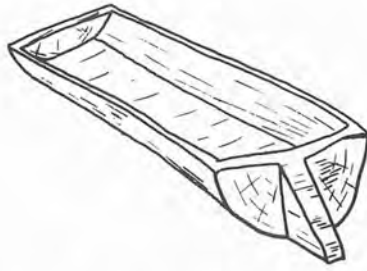


Figure 50. Lower part of coffin with protruding end, B. Omphāi Luang. (1964)



Figure 51. One of the ends of the coffin with holes for coins and a cowrie, B. Omphāi Luang. (1964)



Figure 52. Coffin with painted lid and money, B. Omphāi Luang. (1938)



Figure 53. The pair of *galae* leaning against the *mbueang*, both for a baby's funeral, in front of the ritual house at B. Chāngmō Manōd. (1968)

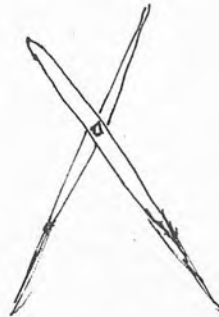


Figure 54. A *galae* ('house horn'). A pair of them keeps the bamboo ridge piece of the grave hut in place.



Figure 55. The new grave. Erected before it is the thread-square bundle. Left: winnowing fan with cross design; behind it a basket. Right: the basket for the chicken set free at burial. The ridge-pole has already fallen down in front of the grave-hut. (10.2.1964)



Figure 56. Backside of the new grave. The ridge pole is kept up by the scissor-like *galae*. To the right part of a big basket full of clothes of the dead boy is still visible. (10.2.1964)



Figure 57. One of three decayed grave huts on the burial ground of B. Ǿmphāi Luang, with the skull of a sacrificed buffalo. Left: three baskets for the belongings of the dead man: a round, a quadrangular one and, more in front, a plaited satchel. Just at the left of it is a winnowing tray with the design of *tarē*. (7.2.1962)

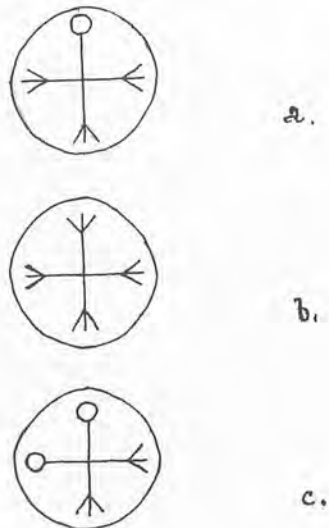


Figure 58. Three patterns of *tarē* designs.



Figure 59. Four men at the tare in B. Omphāi Luang.



Figure 60. The chua la' m'ang: two men jumping between rice pestles clapped together by five couples of men in B. Omphāi Luang.

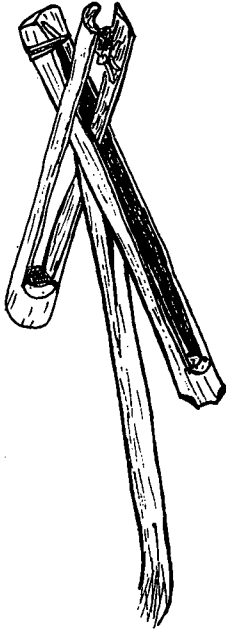


Figure 61. *Dyöksedyä* found on the burial ground near Omphäi Luang. (1964)

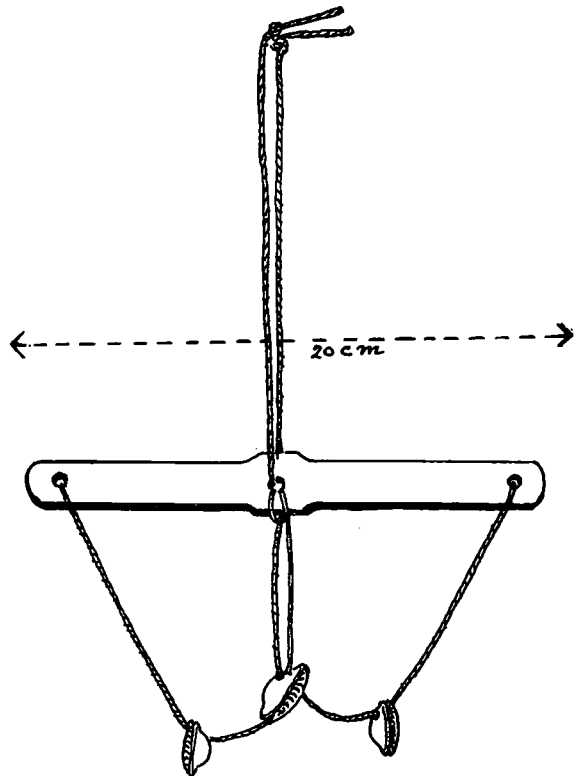


Figure 62. *Läjog* of northern villages.



Figure 63. Group of *mbueang* half-way between B. Yāc̄g and B. Den.



Figure 64. Group of *nām* at about 20 m distance from the group of *mbueang*.

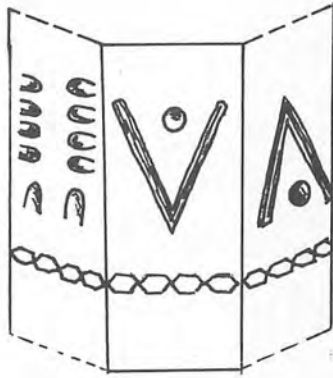


Figure 65a. Carving on a *nām* for a man, B. Pā Pāē.

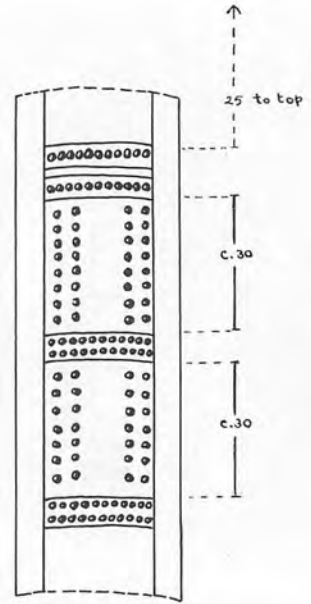


Figure 65b. Carving on a *nām* for a woman, B. Pā Pāē.



Figure 66. Two joined *nām* with two pairs of buffalo horns, B. Pā Pāē.



Figure 67. Carved 'chicken' in a *nām* plate, B. Pā Pāē.



Figure 68. Division of lower part of double *sagang* in Omphāi Luang into three parts by rings of squares (left) or teeth (right). Withered leaves recall a former sacrifice.

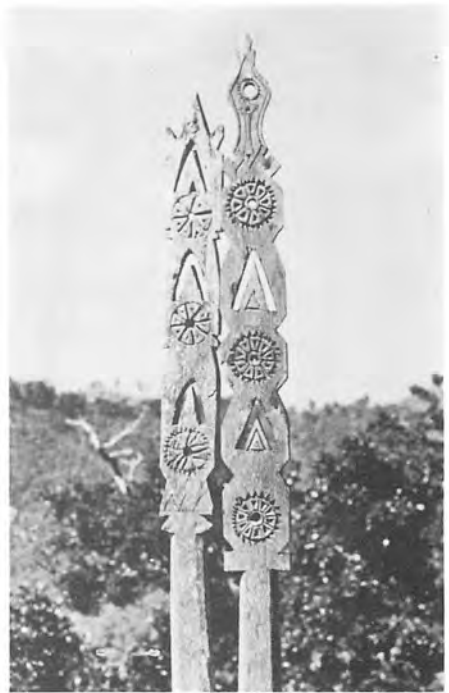


Figure 69. *Sagang la'* in B. Chāngmō Nōi



Figure 70. *Sagang la'* in B. Chāngmō Manōd.



Figure 71. *Sagang la'* in B. Chāngmō Luang.



Figure 72. *Sagang la'* in B. Ōmphāi Luang.
In the middle of the carvings of
the left post: a V-spiral.



Figure 73. The *sagang* in the western quarter of B. Pā Pāē, inhabited presumably by immigrants from B. Chāngmō Manōd.

Figure 74. *Sagang yong mombē* in B. Pae'. The knobs recall those of the three *sagang* in B. La'ub. The half rounded motifs above and below are related to similar ones on a *nām* post near B. Pā Pāē (fig. 65a).





Figure 75. Old sculptured trough for rice-husking in B. Chāngmō N5i.



Figure 76. A girl husking rice, in a carved trough, by foot power; B. Chāngmō N5i.

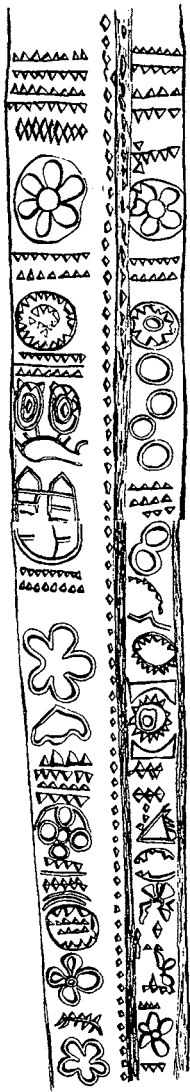
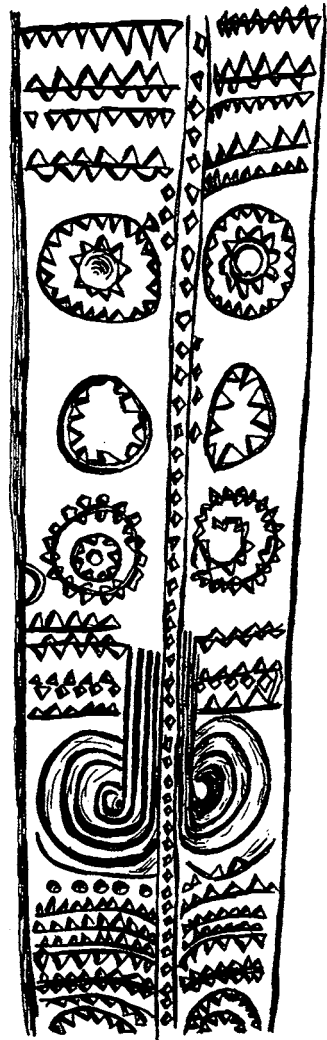


Figure 77. B. Ɔmphāi Luang: a girder's lower side on the west side of the *nyoe' nyū*. The heavy beam is partitioned lengthwise by a high crest.

Figure 78. B. Ɔmphāi Luang: lower side of a girder on the east side of the *nyoe' nyū*, with a multiple V-spiral.



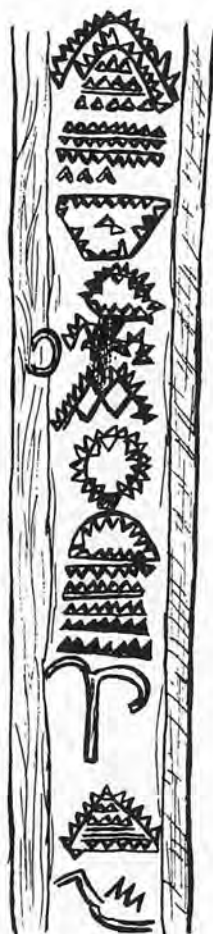


Figure 79. B. Omphāi Luang: inner panel of a post on the west side of the *nyoe' nyū*, with typical *hē* figure. (V-spiral).

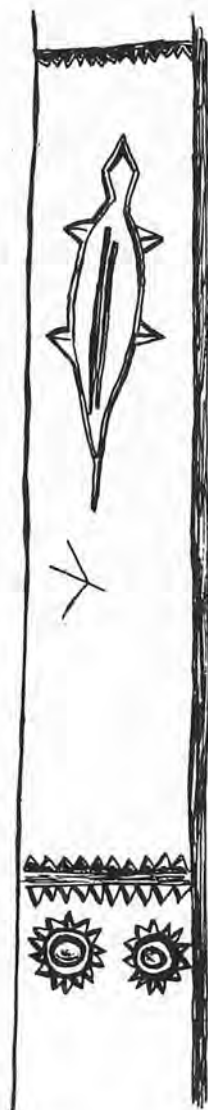


Figure 81. B. Omphāi Luang: lizard and rows of small triangles on a post in the *nyoe' nyū*.



Figure 80. B. Omphāi Luang: inner panel of another post on the west side.



Figure 82. B. Yāēg: two lizards engraved on a post of the *nyoe' nyū*.

Figure 82a. B. Yāēg: the same enlarged.

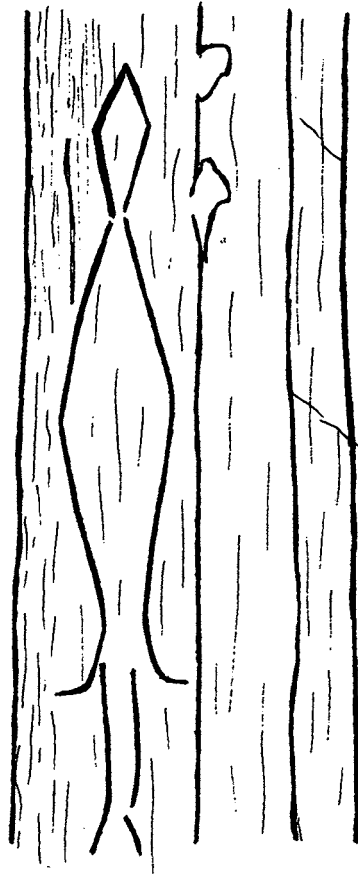




Figure 83. B. Chāngm̄ N̄i: engraving of two lizards and rosettes on northern post in the *nyoe' nyū*.

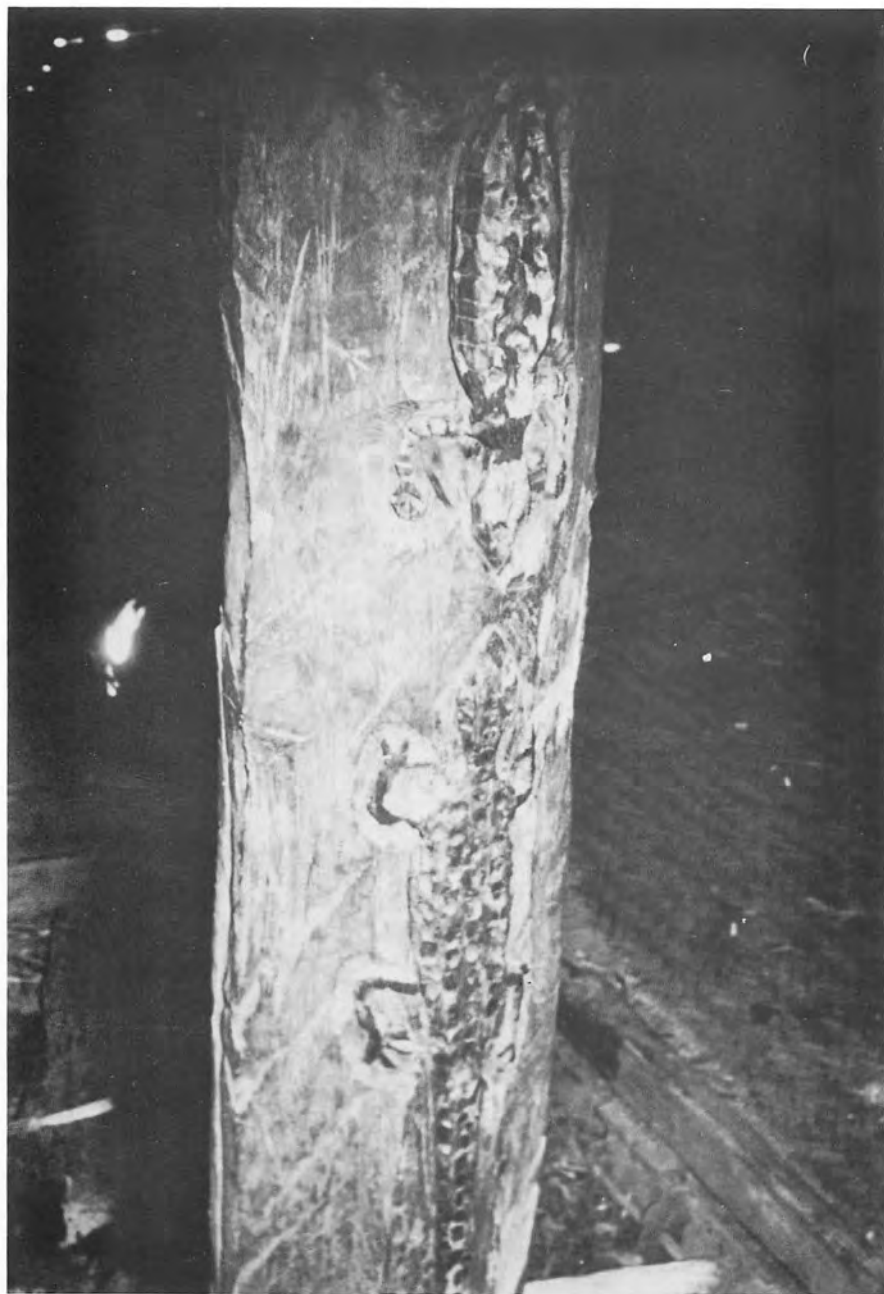


Figure 84. B. Chāngmō Nōi: high relief of two big lizards on a post in the *nyoe' nyū*.

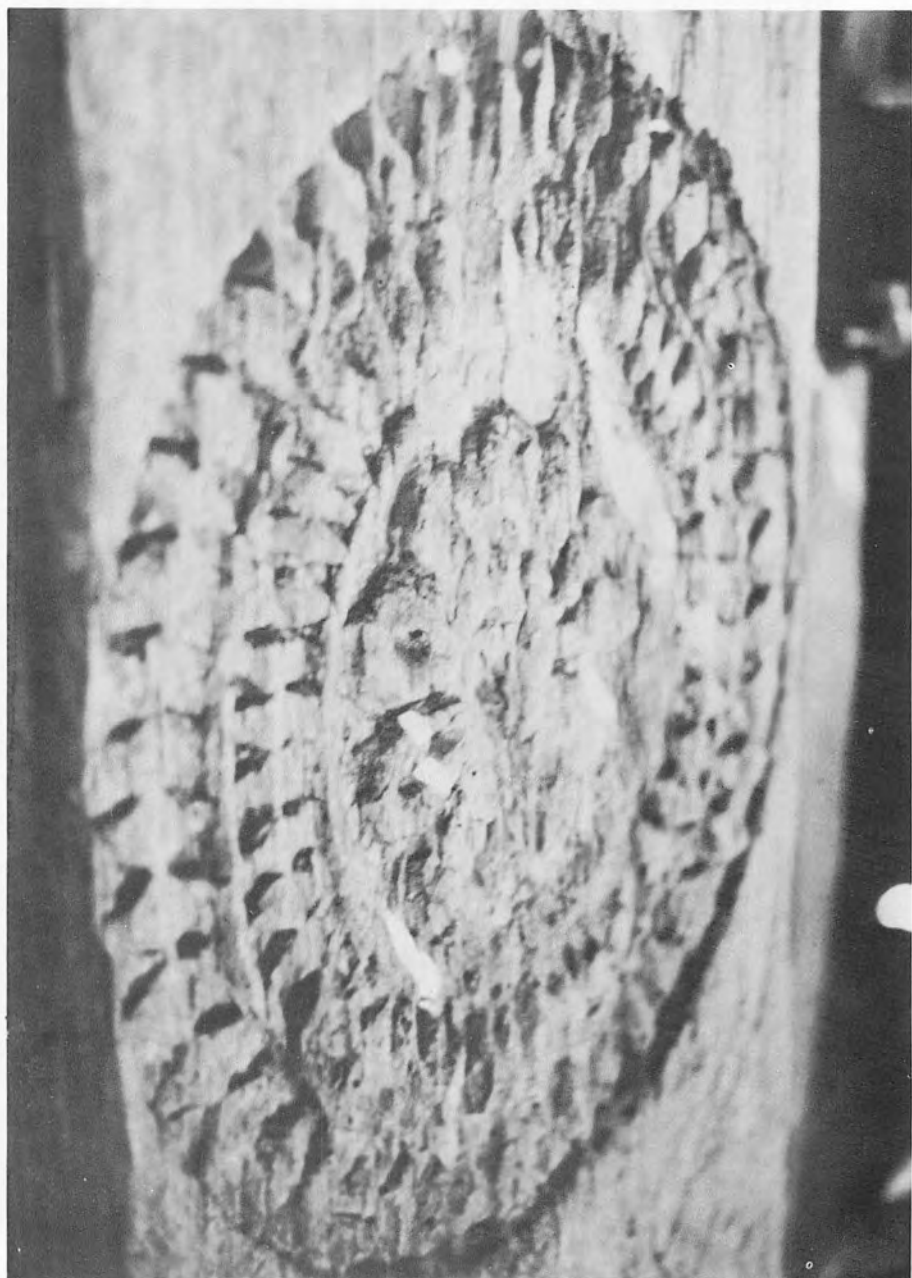


Figure 85. B. Den: big rosette on a post in the *nyoe' nyū*.



Figure 86. B. Chāngm̄ Luang: The northern girder in the eastern part of the *nyoe' nyū* seen from below, showing scrolls partly broken through.

Figure 87. House horns photographed at the north side of Thanon Tha Phae (ถนนท่าแพ = 'Raft Landing Street') in Chiang Mai.

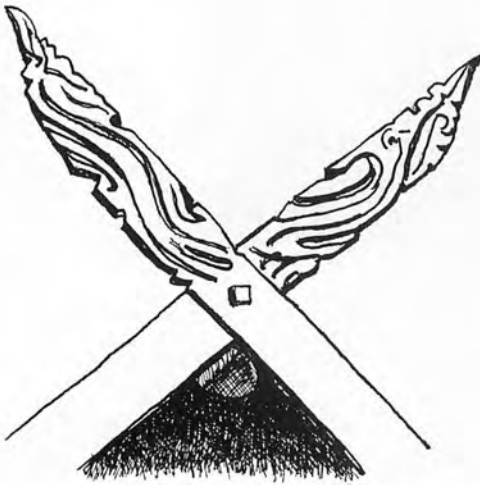


Figure 88. B. Chāngmō Luang: Both horns of a *galae* are of the same length. An apparent difference is caused by the foreshortening of the photographs.

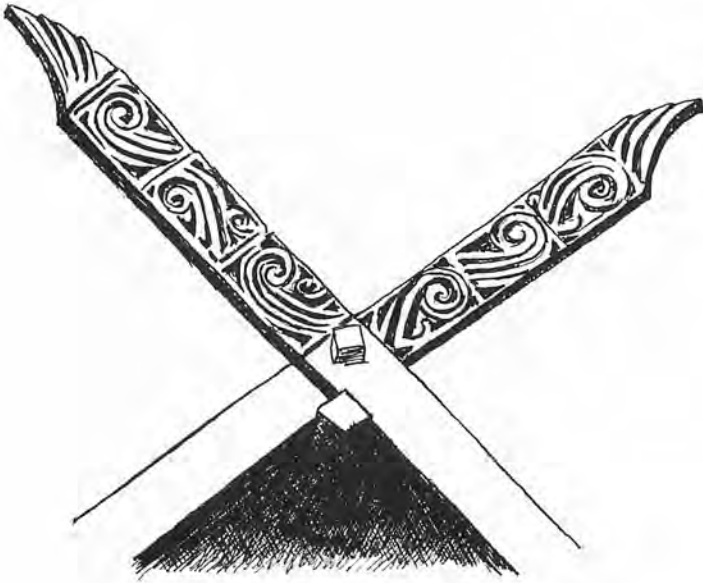


Figure 89. B. Pā Pāē.

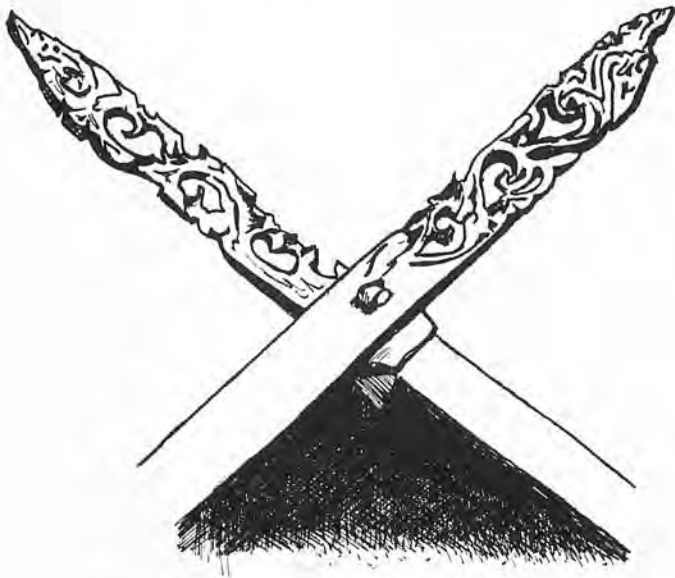


Figure 90. B. Pā Pāē, horns on headman's house.

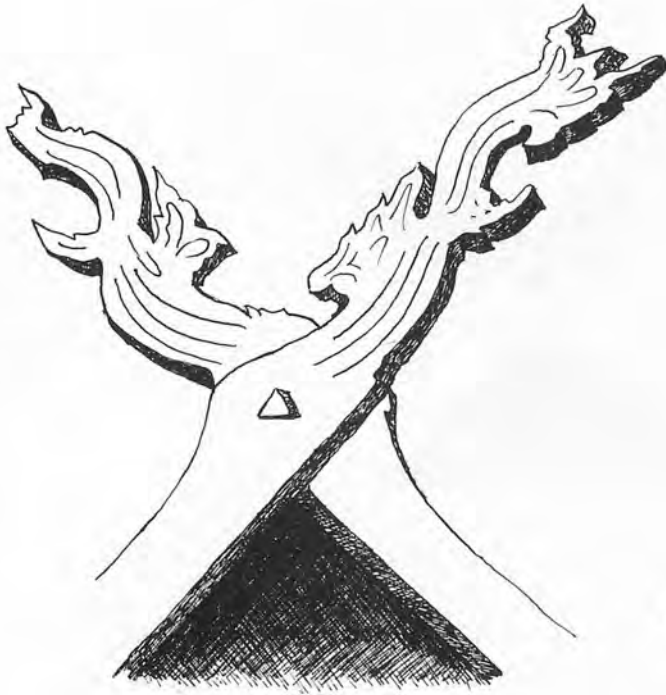


Figure 91. B. Gag N5i.



Figure 92. B. Pac'.

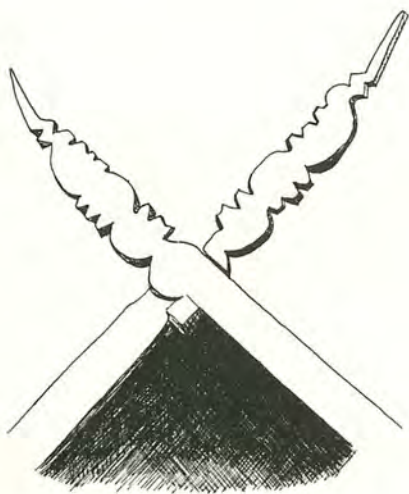


Figure 93. B. Dong, in western part of village.

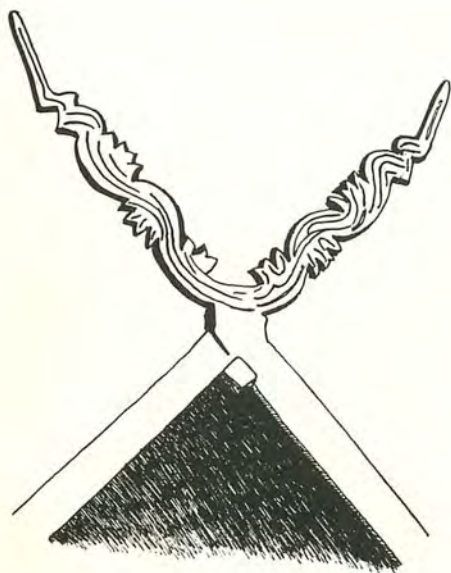


Figure 94. B. Dong, in northern part of village.



Figure 95. B. Hō'.

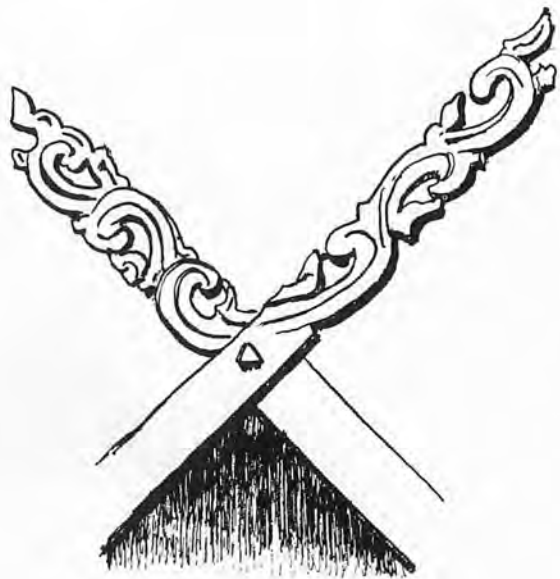


Figure 96. B. Yaēg.

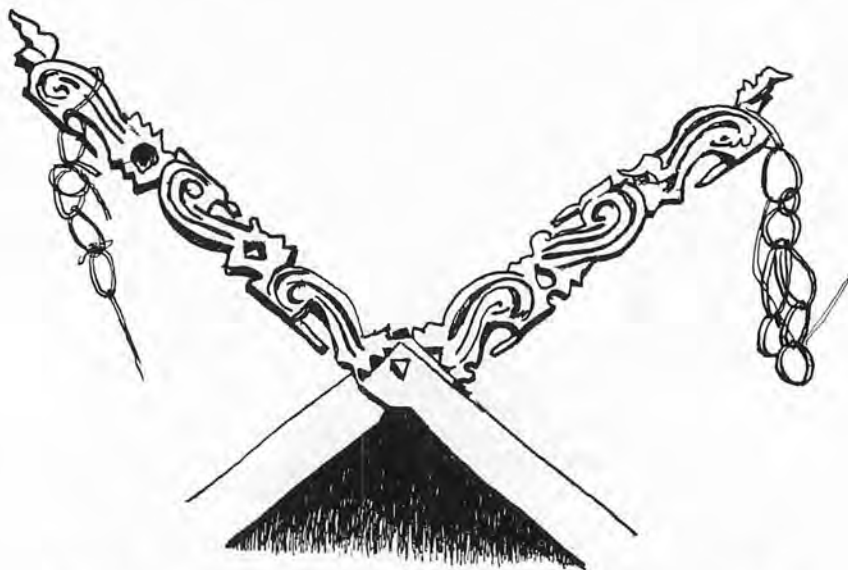


Figure 97. B. Omphāi Luang: curves on the horns are going the wrong way.



Figure 98. B. Mūēd Lōng.



Figure 99. B. La'āng Nuca.



Figure 100. B. Gog Nōi, wooden lintel.



Figure 101. B. Pac', wooden lintel.

Table 7. The stages of the Lawa death ritual

Village	Corpse in house, days	Wailing (lāe)	Singing (yueam)	Stick-dance (chua la'māng)	Death 'game' (tarē)	Coffin wood	On coffin:			Coins into mouth, etc.	Karēn begins grave digging	Coffin and corpse carrying	Grave hut of thatch
							coins	cowries	paint				
Southern Lawā Umphāi group	3-7	X	X	X	X only for samang	kho'khro	X	X	X	generally 25 Stg., house owner 1Rs.	0	coffin before nyoe'nyū. 2 young men carry it to grave with corpse	X
B. Pā Pāc	3-9	X	X	X 5 couples if BS	X if BS (or: saeng = tiger and birds)	kho'khro for small, red wood for big custom funeral	X	X	X	given to corpse: 24 cowries as spirit money	0	coffin alongside house of dead person	X
thern Lawā B. Sām	7: old people 5: adults 3: children			X 5 couples, only for men, always one villager and one guest dancing			X	X	X	poor: 1 win, rich: 1 Rs. at least		coffin before nyoe'nyū	X of bamboo halves if B
B. Müed Lōng	5 if 1-2 BS, 9 if 4 BS									poor: 1 win, rich: 15 Rs.	X		
B. Gōg Nōi	3	X	X	0	X	any wood	0	0	0	1 Rs. at least		morning: coffin to grave by 2 young men; afternoon: corpse by group of old men	X
B. Hō	3-5, rich: 9			X only for adults	X	kho'khro	0	0	0	1 Rs. at least	X	same as Gōg Nōi	X
B. Khōng	1-5 according to money available	X	X	X 5 or 7 couples	X	poor: kho'khro, rich: kho'reni or kho'retum	X	0	X	1 Stg. each in mouth, ears, on eyes, heart	X	same as Gōg Nōi	X
B. Gōg Luang	3-5	0	0	0	0	same as B. Khōng	X	0	X	many Stg. in mouth, ears, hands, on eyes, heart	X	same as Gōg Nōi	X
B. Pae'	max.5	X	X	X only for samang	X only for samang	kho'khro, kho'reni; samang: kho'retum	X	X samang only	X samang: black, white, yellow lines	same as Gōg Luang	X	same as Gōg Nōi	X of bamboo halves for samang
B. La'āng Nuea	3-5	X if BS	X if BS	X for both sexes if BS	X for both sexes if BS	kho'retum if BS	0	X if BS	0	coins in mouth only			X
B. La'āng Tāi	3-5 5 only rich			0	X	kho'reō if pig, kho'retum if BS	X	0	0	same as La'āng Nuea	old men begin digging		
B. Dong	3-5	X	X	X if BS	X	kho'khro; kho'retum if BS	X	X	X		X	morning: coffin to grave by old man, afternoon: corpse by 18 old men	X
B. La'ub	3-9 according to age, not to wealth	X	X	X 5 couples if BS (or ox)	X	kho'khro if nothing, kho'la'oi if pig, kho'retum if BS	X	X	X	coins in mouth according to wealth	X	coffin from nyoe'nyū to grave by men's group, corpse by burial group of 21 old men	X

Note: BS = buffalo(s) sacrificed.

Personal things into coffin	Male/female objects on grave	Thread-squares	Dyóksedyá	Lějog	La'ga' la'māng	Feeding of dead after burial	Nām	Mbueang
X	X	X 25 for men only	X if BS	0	0	3 years at New Year on <i>mbueang</i>	X for male <i>samang</i> if BS	X everybody
X	X	X 15 if pig, 30 if BS	X if BS	0	0		X if BS	X everybody
		X 9 + 7 = 16, also for women if BS	X for men only if BS	0		3 years on <i>mbueang</i>	X if BS	X everybody
		X 9, called <i>lējog</i>	0	0	0		X men and women if BS	X everybody
		0	0			before burial, after burial nevermore	0	0
X (into grave)		0	0	X old men and women		on path to burial ground	0	0
X	X	0 a <i>tung</i> flag	0	X		same as B. Ho'	post called <i>sagang</i> , small, uncarved, at grave head	0
X	X	0	0	0	X	same as B. Ho'	post called <i>nām</i> , else as B. Khōng	0
X	X	0	0	X	X	same as B. Ho': yearly		
		0 (formerly they had)		X	X	same as B. Ho'	0 (formerly, now no more <i>sa-mang</i>)	X if BS
		0	0			same as B. Ho': yearly	0	X if BS
X	X		0	X (2 cowries)	X	same as B. Ho': yearly	0	X men and women if BS
X	X	X 16 for women inside coffin	0	X called <i>mai la' māng</i> (2 cowries), for all		same as B. Ho': yearly	X if BS	X everybody

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NOTES

KING MANGRAI AND THE *LÊ-SHIH*

by

MICHAEL VICKERY

In their "King Mangrai and Chiang Rung",¹ David K. Wyatt and Dian Murray, drawing on an obscure Chinese source, imply that there was, or perhaps still is extant, a "fifteenth or sixteenth century"² Vietnamese source which, since it repeated some of the dynastic history of the northern Thai principalities, would be an external source confirming some of those details which are of otherwise dubious veracity since "the northern chronicles . . . give the impression of having derived from a single, almost circular tradition; and if for example, two different chronicles are both based on a single source, it is no proof of reliability to say that the two check against one another."³

The 'Vietnamese' source in question is a certain *Lê-shih*, "Lê history", cited in footnotes to a Chinese work on the history of Ch'e-li [Chiang Rung] by a certain Li Fu-i. The Vietnamese origin of the work was apparently assumed from the vocable 'Lê', name of Viet Nam's most important dynasty which ruled in the fifteenth and sixteenth century A.D. and whose kings remained as figureheads until the Tay-so'n period of the late eighteenth century.

It is easy to understand that a number of historians of Thailand are eager to grasp at any source tending to prove the reliability of the indigenous histories, and if in fact a Vietnamese *Lê* history agreed with the Chiang Mai chronicles on thirteenth-century Lan Na events it would be fairly good corroboratory evidence for the reliability of the latter. In the present case, however, the first thing one would expect the authors, one of whom obviously reads Chinese, to do, given the number of homonyms occurring in romanized Chinese, would be to check whether the character representing 'Lê' of the *Lê-shih* is the same character used for the name of the Vietnamese dynasty.

The two characters are in fact quite different,⁴ and the literal glosses of the former give no clue to its meaning in "*Lê-shih*", indicating that it was probably being used in that context as a special convention.

Another anomaly which should strike all Thai scholars is that the proper names in the citations from *Lê-shih* in Li Fu-i's work are all perfectly phonetic Thai in romanization, which

1. *Journal of the Siam Society*, LXIV, 1 (Jan. 1976), 378-381.

2. *Ibid.*, 381.

3. *Ibid.*, 378.

4. The character for the Lê dynasty : 黎

The character in "Lê-shih" is : 澗⁴⁴₃₈₄₃ (to write; to indite), as glossed in [R.H.] Mathew's *Chinese-English Dictionary*, Rev. American ed., 1963.

would not be possible if the *Lê-shih* were a Vietnamese Lê work written in classical Chinese or in the Vietnamese Chu Nom.

When reading the Wyatt and Murray article I wondered if other students of Thailand also suspected that "lê" might have been the conventional Chinese rendering of Lü, the name of the language of Chiang Rung, and the *Lê-shih* a traditional Lü chronicle well within the "almost circular tradition"⁵ of the northern chronicles.

At the time it was impossible to check this suspicion for lack of access to the documents; but recently I found that photocopies of Li Fu-i's work as well as other Chinese writings on the subject are in the possession of Dr. Mitsuo Nakamura of the Australian National University.⁶

The first thing to note is that in Li Fu-i's work itself, written in Chinese, the proper names of *Lê-shih* are written in romanization, not in Chinese characters as would be the case in a Vietnamese *Lê-shih*, and they correspond precisely to the "similar 'king-list' written in Tai Lü script"⁷ which forms the second part of his work. It would thus appear that for Li Fu-i *Lê-shih* meant a Lü history.

This supposition is confirmed by other Chinese scholarship. Chiang Ying-lang, in *Min Tsu T'uan Chieh*,⁸ described the *Lê-shih* as a history of the Sip Song Panna in the Thai language, in three volumes, covering the period 1180-1844,⁹ showing that 'lê' for 'lü' was a generally accepted convention in Chinese scholarship. This convention also seemed unambiguous to Nakamura who, writing in 1969, and at Cornell, accepted the *Lê-shih* as a "Lue history".¹⁰

We must thus conclude that enthusiasm for that particular *Lê-shih* as an external source corroborating the northern Thai chronicles is premature, and that the skepticism which certain writers have shown in recent years towards the 'Mangrai genealogy' remains justified.

5. See note 3 above.

6. I wish to thank Dr. Nakamura for making his material available; and I also wish to thank Miss Akiko Iijima, then visiting research fellow in anthropology, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, who read and translated the Chinese material for me.

7. Wyatt and Murray, p. 378.

8. "Formation of the feudal society of the Thai people" (paraphrased translation), No. 4, 1963, pp. 32-58.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

10. Mitsuo Nakamura, "Political system of Sip-Song Panna: an attempt at an ethnohistorical exploration into a Lue kingdom in Yunnan, China", paper read at the 17th Annual Conference of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Cornell University, 23 October 1969. See his note 4.

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE TOPONYM LĀN NĀ

by

HANS PENTH

The toponym Lān Nā, historically a name for the kingdom of Chiang Mai and its dependencies and at present an appellation for the eight northernmost provinces of Thailand, is found to be spelled either with or without *mai thō*: ล้านนา or ลานนา. The former is understood to mean '(country of) a million paddy fields' while the latter supposedly signifies 'area of paddy fields'.

'A million paddy fields' quite easily makes sense since there are other numerical expressions as พันนา (*phan nā*: 'one thousand paddy fields') and หมื่นนา (*mūn nā*: 'ten thousand paddy fields'), which refer to administrative districts. 'Area of paddy fields' presents somewhat of a problem because ลาน does not seem to be attested for a vast geographic region but only for a restricted open place surrounded by trees, a fence or hills, for example a garden, a yard, a field etc.

My palm leaf copy of the Chiang Mai Chronicle spells Lān Nā variously with or without the *mai thō*, whereas Notton's printed version of the Chronicle¹ indicates the *mai thō* throughout. Phongsāwadān Yōnok², a modern compilation of earlier sources, spells Lān Nā with the *mai thō* but drops it in the table of contents. Mūlasāsanā in its printed form³ omits the *mai thō*. Jinakālamāli⁴ does not seem to mention the toponym. Present-day writers usually prefer the orthography without *mai thō*.

The Chiang Mai National Museum is in possession of an inscribed stone slab⁵ which probably originates from a monastery in the neighbourhood of Chiang Mai. The inscription reports for C.S. 915, third month, first day of the waxing moon (about November - December A.D. 1553) certain grants to a monastery 'by the King who rules over the two countries, Lān Chāng and Lān Nā': สมเด็จพระมหารัชมังคลาจารย์...เสวยราชพิภพทั้งสองแผ่นดินล้านช้างล้านนา. Here, Lān Nā and Lān Chāng (the former kingdom of Luang Phra Bāng) both carry the *mai thō*. Since the setting up of inscribed stone slabs recording royal decisions had to be properly supervised and witnessed by the authorities, one can conclude that, in the sixteenth century, for persons connected with both the *saṅgha* and the secular administration, Lān Nā meant '(country of) a million paddy fields'.

As for Lān Chāng, Coedès⁶ already has shown that in the sixteenth century it signified 'a million elephants'.

1. Camille Notton, *Chronique de Xieng Mai*, Paris, 1932.
2. พระยาประชาภิจักรจักร, เรื่องพงษาวดารโยนก, กรุงเทพฯ ฯ (ร.ศ.) 126
3. พระพุทธพุกาม พระพุทธญาณ / กรมศิลปากร, ตำนานมรดกศาสนา, พระนคร พ.ศ. 2482
4. G. Coedès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental", *BEFEO* (25) 1925, pp. 36-140.
5. Registration no. 6/2516.
6. G. Coedès, "A propos des anciens noms de Luang Prabang", *BEFEO* (18.10) 1918, pp. 9-11; G. Coedès, "Documents sur l'histoire...", pp. 72, 139.

THAI WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE

by

H. TIN

It is not unusual for words of one language to be adopted into another. This is especially true of neighboring countries such as Thailand and Burma which, despite periods of rivalry and war, have had close cultural, social and commercial ties. During the time of the Burmese monarchs, especially in the last Konbaung period*, a number of talented Thais, including master craftsmen, artists and musicians, lived in Burma favorably regarded and well treated. Having a similar religious background, the Thai immigrants were able to participate in the various cultural rites, and their contributions were appreciated by rulers and common folk alike. Some aspects of the Thai style of dress and ways of preparing food were easily accepted in Burma. Styles in painting and sculpture, as well as music and costumes of the dance were assimilated into the local traditional culture. There is today even a classical form of Burmese music and dance which has developed over time with various innovations, but which originally sprang from the Thai style and bears the distinct title of Yodaya, a corrupt term for Ayudhya.

It is fascinating to trace, in Burmese art nomenclature, Thai names and terms of particular objects which have been absorbed with little phonetic variation. Unfortunately, this has not always been recognized by scholars who mistakenly trace such words to other Burmese or Pali root words. An example is the word *kanote* (ကန်တီ), a well-known floral design in tapering form with tendrils of cordate leaves and frequently employed in decorative art and sculpture. *Kanote* is derived from the Thai word with the same meaning, กระหนก or กะหนก or หนก. It corresponds to the Pali word *kanaka* which means "gold". Some Burmese scholars, without discerning the Thai origin of the word *kanote*, are inclined to trace it to the Pali word *kokanada* meaning "red lotus", but it is obvious that the latter has no connection with the tapering design of *kanote*.

In a certain Burmese classical composition there is a popular tune called "*Kapi*" (ကပီ) referring to the scene of Hanuman, the well-known monkey king in the *Ramayana*. *Kapi* is certainly derived from the Thai word meaning monkey. The Thai term for the tune is ลิลลาคะปี่. In Burmese decorative art the word *kapi* also appears for a curve resembling the dorsal outline of a sitting monkey. However, this latter use of *kapi* goes back to Pali origin, since there is no similar Thai word for any artistic design.

Another term in Burmese classical music is *karong* (ကရဝံ), a tune played in the scene of Dasagiri, a demon-king in the *Ramayana*, or for any other traditional scenes in Burmese puppetry pertaining to male or female ogres. This tune is punctuated *inter alia* with bold striking in a fixed frequency on a horizontally-laid drum. Either such striking alone, or the whole tune itself is called *karong*, which derives from the Thai word กลอง meaning drum.

There is a typical Burmese tune known as "*Choot*" (ชูတ်) which has a very slow beat with perceptible intervals, and is usually played in the dramatic scene illustrating the approach

* A.D. 1752 - 1885.

of a robber to a well-guarded place. The beat is synchronized with the stealthy and cautious steps of the villain. *Choot* in Burmese is identical with the Thai word of the same pronunciation written จูต.

It would not be far-fetched to identify popular titles of Thai-style songs in Burmese such as "*Chu-e-chai*" (နှစ် ဝါးချို) and "*Choot-chan*" (ချစ် ချစ်) with the Thai words ชูชญา and ชะသာ. However, without access to reliable written references in those days, the Burmese pronunciation of Thai words may have diverged considerably over time, and furthermore Burmese orthography based on varied pronunciations may have led to further divergence from the original. Therefore, some of the words, the origins of which can generally be assured as Thai as they are transcriptions of wordings of Thai songs, can no longer be traced back to their original identities and thus remain uninterpreted.

There is the word *mahothee* (မုဆိုး) referring to Thai-style songs in Burmese. In fact, there are several other similar titles which cannot be specifically identified, but it can be assumed that they are of Thai origin. The word *mahothee* can be reconciled with the Thai word มะโหรี which refers to a performing group consisting of string, wind and percussion instruments.

In addition to words in art and music, the Burmese have also adopted some Thai terms for utensils and food. For example, in times gone by and especially in remote villages people used *palone* (ပလံး) , a medium-sized basket woven of split bamboo, to wash and drain rice before cooking, and also for storing cooked rice or vegetables. This type of basket, when coated with dammar and fixed with an arched handle, is also used for carrying water from a well. It corresponds exactly with the Thai โพล่.

In the days of the Burmese kings a company of Burmese soldiers would usually carry with them to the battle front a wooden tray called *raba* (ရာဘ) which was used to serve the community meal. In Thai this word can be identified with กระบะ or กะบะ.

Among favorite Burmese delicacies are two popular sweetmeats, namely *mong-lote-saung* (မုန့်လှော်) and *na-noom-kin* (နာနွမ်း) or colloquially *sa-non-makin* (ဆာနွမ်း). The first consists of lumps of steamed rice paste eaten together with sweetened coconut milk and sometimes dressed with sesamum seed. It is none other than ลอดช่อง in Thai, plus the Burmese prefix *mong* which means edible. The second is a kind of sweet dainty made of semolina, sugar, eggs and coconut milk baked in a flat pan and sprinkled with poppy seed. This is the Thai specialty มันทม or มันทก. These sweetmeats might have been introduced long ago by Thai immigrants and have since become popular in Burma.

It thus appears that the Burmese accepted not only Thai things but also their names without claiming them as native to Burma. These words among others not mentioned are conspicuous evidence of a certain fraternity and friendship over time between the Thais and the Burmese.

REVIEW ARTICLES

POLITICAL CHANGE IN THAILAND, 1973 - 1976

Reflections on the Collapse of Democracy in Thailand

by Robert F. Zimmerman

Occasional Papers Series No. 50

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore; April 1978; 118 pp.

Thailand, Domino by Default? The 1976 Coup and Implications for U. S. Policy

by William Bradley, David Morell, David Szanton, Stephen Young

Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No. 46

Ohio University, Center for International Studies, Athens, Ohio; 1978; 61 pp.

Both these important monographs focus on events leading up to the military coup in October 1976, which ended three years of democratic rule in Thailand, and on the coup's significance for the country's immediate and long-term political future. Zimmerman prefaces his study of these events with lengthy analyses of the political system prior to the student-led rebellion which overthrew Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn's government in October 1973, and of its democratic successor. This account contains much useful detailed information and a challenging model of the political system during the democratic years. However, having identified the key forces in the Thai political process—members of the military and civilian bureaucratic elites, and sections of the Sino-Thai business community—the author all but ignores these in discussing the origins and aftermath of October 1976. Instead, attention is unconvincingly shifted to externally inspired communism, and a disparate variety of lesser factors. Zimmerman's case is not assisted by an often turgid prose style, and some inadequacies in documentation (e.g. the main source for events after October 1977 is the *Indonesian Observer*).

Bradley *et al.* (hereafter referred to as Bradley) begin by examining the immediate events leading up to October 1976. Their account, which stresses the crucial role of the pre-October 1973 political elite, is lucid, and is an admirably concise resumé of political developments in the democratic period. However, their future projections, depicting a virtually inevitable internal breakdown and communist triumph, appear to be overly deterministic. This is in effect conceded in a brief, surprisingly sanguine epilogue written by two of the authors. Curiously, pessimistic expectations of a communist victory expressed in the main body of the text do not prevent the authors advocating close future USA-Thai co-operation aimed at defeating the insurgency.

Nearly one third of the monograph looks at relations between the two countries but, in the opinion of this reviewer, misrepresents past interaction and advocates a highly dubious course for the future.

While both works are of uneven quality, they are nonetheless welcome additions to the expanding literature on Thai politics. They remain, to date, the only monograph-length accounts of political developments in the last few dramatic years, and their future implications. More importantly, they present a vigorous challenge to widely held assumptions about Thailand's underlying political stability and imperviousness to communist appeals, and are a valuable reminder that so far too little attention has been given to the dynamics of Thai political change.

Zimmerman's account of the pre- and post-October 1973 political systems

Zimmerman begins with a laboured, abstract account of the prerequisites for political development. This has little relevance to the subsequent analysis, beyond noting the truism that economic and social change impinge on political structures. Projecting this argument forward, it is stated that the October 1973 rebellion occurred because the government "could not cope with the rise in new economic and social pressures that its earlier development 'successes' created" (p. 6). However, analysis of the pre-1973 political system that follows, depicts a static 'bureaucratic polity' and ignores these socio-economic changes. After the overthrow of absolute monarchy in 1932, Zimmerman argues, government was in the hands of a series of cliques, organized along patron-client lines, and dependent on the military and civilian bureaucracies. Even during brief periods of parliamentary rule this remained true as parliament lacked alternative constituencies. The only other important group was the Sino-Thai business community, whose financial support was often important in inter-clique rivalry. The 'bureaucratic polity' was sustained also by the apolitical tradition of rural Thailand and the strong Thai sense of individualism (partly a consequence of Buddhism).

Few would raise serious objections to this analysis. It accords with long-established conventional wisdom, and is found in the two standard texts on Thai politics, by D.A. Wilson (*Politics in Thailand*) and F.W. Riggs (*Thailand: The Modernization of a Bureaucratic Polity*). Bradley does not specifically look at the pre-1973 political system, but there are no indications that he would disagree with such an account. The only innovation lies in the importance attributed to members of the Sino-Thai business community. This is a valuable corrective to their common designation as 'pariah' entrepreneurs, though it is an exaggeration to claim that "coups in Thailand were very much a function of how many bankers a given clique could draw upon and control in a competition with other opposing clique leaders" (p. 17). However, the turbulence of political change in recent years indicates that this traditional framework does have shortcomings. These would no doubt have been revealed had Zimmerman, as promised, discussed the socio-economic changes that led to 6 October 1973 (e.g. the rapid commercialization of the rural economy, the 'boom town' effects of American bases, aid and investment, and the mushrooming of tertiary educational institutions); he merely documents the major preceding incidents.

Zimmerman asserts that the October 1973 change ended forever Thailand's 'bureaucratic

polity'. Bradley does not examine the political system during the democratic years in detail, but asserts that the earlier power structure remained essentially intact. Zimmerman notes four key differences between the old and new polity, namely (a) more people—and in particular more technocrats—contributed to decision-making at the top; (b) a variety of new pressure groups were able “to bring facts, opinions, and recommendations to the attention of key decision-makers”; (c) the new constitution, which a wide cross-section of the people played some part in the drafting of, incorporated several important democratic guarantees; and (d) HM King Bhumiphol gained the potential to act as an important political force behind the scenes.

This checklist does seem to exaggerate the extent of change. It is doubtful that there was a significant increase in the number, or quality, of those contributing to decision-making at the top. The only evidence mentioned in this regard is the active political role of senior Bangkok Bank official Boonchu Rojanastien, described as ‘a well-trained economist’ (p. 39). (For the record, though Boonchu is a man of undoubted ability, his formal training in economics is limited to a diploma in accountancy.) Moreover, it has always been a feature of the Cabinet in Thai governments, at least since the days of Sarit, that most positions were held by highly qualified technocrats. With regard to the influence of HM the King, this was undoubtedly enhanced by his involvement in the 14 October incident, but it was already considerable before this. The new constitution differed markedly from its immediate predecessors, but had much in common with earlier constitutions in 1946 and 1949.

The most important post-1973 changes were clearly those related to the emergence of new pressure groups, here broadly defined to include political parties, organizations of students, academics, and labour, parliament etc. Unfortunately, the importance and ‘newness’ of these institutions is not adequately explained. What is one to deduce from the following statements? Students, though plagued by internal division, “retained a potential to press for action on political and social issues”; labour unions were “not as susceptible to manipulation by bureaucrats as once expected”; political parties were “a dominant feature”, though most were “little more than clique groups . . . None of the parties had developed an organizational structure that reached down to the village level” (pp. 40-41). Several political parties are considered ‘new’, because they had no apparent base of support in the ‘old system’ (alliance, with Sino-Thai businessmen and/or influential bureaucratic patrons). This definition is not, however, adhered to, since it is conceded that the major ‘new’ parties, the Democrats (!), New Force and Social Action each had links with the ‘establishment’. Since some members of the establishment were obviously enlightened, this definition does not seem a particularly helpful one. To this reviewer the novelty of post-1973 events, in addition to the emergence of important new pressure groups, lies simply in a newly found elite commitment to democracy and socio-economic improvement for the mass of underprivileged.

These arguments have certainly not sustained the case for 1973 representing the end of the bureaucratic polity. Further doubts are raised by Zimmerman’s discussion of the means by which members of the Thanom-Prapass clique and their supporters were able to exercise influence. (Here again there is evidence of the author’s less-than-rigorous approach to documentation. Key military officers, it is suggested, ‘were able to retire early in order to run for Parliament’, then expand their influence by backing or leading political parties. General Kris

Sivara is cited as a 'prime example', though he neither retired early nor ran for parliament.) The following section, a model of the 'Thai political process' during the democratic period, is perhaps the most important part of Zimmerman's work, and deserves consideration at some length. Not the least interesting aspect of the analysis is the fact that it effectively undermines the writer's hypothesis regarding the end of the bureaucratic polity.

There are two complementary components of Zimmerman's model. Firstly, there is a schema (diagram 4, pp. 47-48) identifying key figures in the political process, classified in terms of membership in political parties, pressure groups (narrowly defined), the Sino-Thai business elite, the military elite, and a group of advisors to HM the King. HM King Bhumipol, Kris Sivara, and a few others have independent classifications. Connecting lines between different interests depict a complex web of individual and group interrelationships. These, however, must be looked at in conjunction with the second component of the model, namely brief biographical details of leading political figures and leading members of the Sino-Thai elite. There is a great deal of interesting material here, and it is the most ambitious attempt to date to identify specific interlocking relationships between political and economic elites. Hopefully, it will provide an analysis that others will criticize and refine, and from this a more profound understanding of Thai elite politics will eventually emerge.

The model is not, of course, without its shortcomings, some of which are inherent in the schematic approach itself. (The author relies heavily on this methodology, also employing it to help define the pre-October 1973 and post-October 1976 political systems.) Lines drawn between individuals and groups indicate some interrelationship, but nothing about the quality of the relationship. The accompanying biographical notes do not go very far towards elucidating this critical factor. Also, a schema is inherently static, whereas clique politics in Thailand are in a constant state of flux.

Several more specific comments can be made. Firstly, the schema provides very little information on the most important of all groups, the military elite. Apart from relating about half with Kris Sivara, few other linkages are noted. In some cases, the links with Kris are dubious: for instance, General Chalard's well-known alliance with Kris's main opponent on the right, Major-General Pramarn Adireksan, makes him a questionable ally. Some generals—such as the present Defence Minister, General Prem Tinsulanond—are not mentioned at all. On the other hand the schema lists "General Yot Thephatsadin na Ayuthaya" and "Major-General Yose Dhevhuksin na Ayuthaya", apparently under the mistaken assumption that the two names represent different people. The Democrat Party also fares badly. Only three of its members are listed (compared with, for example, six for the rather less important Socialist Party of Thailand), and there is no indication of the different factions within the party—in spite of the importance of this factionalism to the events of October 1976. The '99 Group' gets no mention at all, though it was an important quasi-political party prior to elections in 1975. Several other questions could be raised about specific claimed linkages, or the inclusion/non-inclusion of various individuals, but documenting these would require greater length than seems warranted in a review of this nature.

In the discussion of biographical details, the political potential of each leader is assessed

in terms of his influence with the military, business community, and political cliques. These are, of course, the traditional indices of power within the bureaucratic polity, and constitute an implicit acknowledgement that this system continued after October 1973. (Also, Zimmerman later claims that the Thanin government, which came to power in October 1976, "approximated encapsulated authoritarianism", a system defined as "essentially the bureaucratic polity that Riggs and Wilson described" [p. 109].) Irrespective of the political system, however, it is an over-simplification to equate discernible potential with actual power. Other less tangible political skills or resources—such as those of politicking, achieving compromises, charisma—may ultimately prove more important. Thus Zimmerman is not correct when he observes of *M.R. Kukrit Pramoj*: "his 'political presence' was more overt than Kris Sivara's though, taken as a whole, still less influential" (p. 53). Kris may have been in a better position to manipulate players on Thailand's political chessboard, but he recorded no comparable achievements to Kukrit in domestic and foreign policy.

Zimmerman's brief reference to the Sino-Thai business community singles out two dominant groups, those attached to the Mahakhun Distillery and the Bank of Ayudhya. While both were no doubt important it seems unlikely that either rivalled the Bangkok Bank, notwithstanding a small decline in this group's influence due to its earlier close association with the pre-October 1973 military elite. The Bangkok Bank, the largest bank in Southeast Asia, is over five times as big as the Bank of Ayudhya (Thailand's fifth largest), and at least two of its leading personnel, Boonchu Rojanastien and Prasit Kanchanavat, were well to the fore during the democratic period.

Reasons for the 1976 coup

After devoting half the monograph to analyses of the pre- and post-October 1973 political systems, Zimmerman turns to examine the reasons for the failure of the democratic experiment. At this point his work becomes directly comparable with the account of Bradley. Zimmerman has a shopping list of eight different factors said to have contributed to the downfall of democracy, but places primary emphasis on the role of communist-influenced students. Bradley explains this development as a consequence of the traditional elite's continued hold on power after October 1973.

Zimmerman dismisses arguments that events leading up to October 1976, including the returns of Prapass and Thanom, were orchestrated by the 'right'. Instead he argues that there is 'considerable evidence' that the 6 October incident was "the successful culmination of communist influence (among Thammasat students)—both from the Soviet and the Vietnamese on the one hand and the 'Maoist' CPT on the other" (p. 66). Later on this is asserted as a fact (p. 82). Elsewhere, implicitly conceding that there is an element of doubt, it is argued that "*whatever the inspiration for the coup, the rightists' success remained a direct function of the failure of the noncommunist-influenced university activists to cope with factionalism, disillusionment, ideological polarization, violence and the tendency to take on too many issues*" (p. 67; *my italics*).

The 'evidence' for communist manipulation of the student movement is, contrary to Zimmerman's claim, tenuous in the extreme. Attempts to dredge it out reveal a tendency among

American academic observers, frequent in past decades but now somewhat unfashionable, to combine liberalism with an almost obsessive anti-communism. This takes the form of assuming that attempts by communists to influence events must *ipso facto* be successful, and that evidence of communist inroads is essentially explicable in terms of 'external' manipulation. No doubt the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT), the Soviet Union and Viet Nam attempted to obtain the maximum advantage from post-1973 events, but there is little evidence to suggest they made significant inroads. Interest in left-wing and communist publications *per se* is not evidence of anything sinister, particularly since these had been forbidden fruit for such a long period of time. The interest in Marxist and left-wing thought that did emerge at this time probably owed little to the CPT, USSR or Viet Nam. Thai academics returning from radical Western universities, the resurrection of writings by Jit Phumisak (an idiosyncratic Thai Marxist scholar), exceedingly grim job prospects faced by graduates from the early 1970s, and ideological polarization brought about by right-wing initiated political violence after 1974, all made vital contributions to the radicalization of the Thai student movement.

Zimmerman returns to this factor when he argues that the communist victory in Indochina in 1975 gravely alarmed Thai conservative elements, particularly the military, allowed north-eastern insurgents much greater access to facilities provided by Pathet Lao and Vietnamese allies, and led to increasingly intense communist guerrilla attacks in Thailand. Undoubtedly it is correct that events in Indochina, perhaps particularly the forced abdication of the Lao monarch, alarmed Thai conservatives. But by all accounts—including those of the US government—Viet Nam provided virtually no material aid to Thai insurgents after winning its war in 1975. Also, communists did not consistently step up their attacks during the democratic period: Thai government casualties numbered 522 in 1974, 420 in 1975, and 460 in 1976.

Zimmerman's criticism of students, as an earlier quotation has indicated, is not confined to their alleged propensity to manipulation by communists. They are criticized both for their failure to utilize the opportunities for supporting democracy, and for other activities (resorting to violence, adopting radical slogans) which led more directly to the downfall of democracy, primarily the former. It is arguable, however, that the students' failure to live up to the high responsibility vested in them by the writer is hardly a realistic basis for such a critical evaluation. Students have often contributed to bringing down governments, but have seldom played a major role upholding a democratic government; nor, however, are they customarily expected to play such a supportive role.

The failure of the academic community to restrain irresponsible political activism is also listed as a 'major cause' of October 1976. Some lecturers, it is argued, due to long foreign residence, "were in a sense not really Thai"; others "had already entered at least a loose alliance with the CPT through united front organizations or were heavily influenced by the funding activities of the Soviet Embassy in Bangkok" (pp. 70-71). Prudhisana Chumpol is the only one known to Zimmerman who attempted to bring reason and rationality to bear on students.

Bradley diverges explicitly on this issue, observing that Dr. Boonsanong Punyodyana, the liberal, Cornell-trained Secretary-General of the Socialist Party of Thailand (assassinated early in 1976), "had been extremely popular with the students and had been influential in

moderating their demands for immediate and unrealistic political change" (p. 14). This reviewer knows personally of several others who acted in a similar manner. Few of them were communist-influenced, as is indicated by the handful that went underground or pursued radical politics abroad after October 1976. As in the case of students, however, it has not generally been held that academic faculty play a 'major role' in upholding democratic government.

Zimmerman does not deny that the right wing contributed to the 6 October situation. 'Status quo-oriented conservatives', as they are euphemistically called, included several military officers, some close colleagues of Thanom and Prapass, who utilized such organizations as the Red Gaurs and Nawapol. These groups, it is noted, "were far more prone to initiate violence than were the 'leftists'" (p. 74). And failure to bring any of the perpetrators to justice was a key factor in driving students to the radical left. Such arguments call into question the author's earlier criticisms of students and communists, but there is no attempt to evaluate critically the respective importance of all factors.

The proliferation of political parties and the absence of leadership are also listed as contributing to the downfall of democracy. Most of the parties, it is claimed, "were merely individual-oriented clique groups, all of which saw in the new democratic situation an opportunity to try to cut themselves in for a share of power and its perquisites (not the responsibilities)" (p. 76). Leadership was 'conspicuous by its absence'. Kukrit never had time, with all the effort required to hold together a multi-party coalition. Seni simply lacked leadership qualities. Kris Sivara had the potential, but died at a critical moment (two days after he was appointed Defence Minister, following the April 1976 election). These comments seem generally fair, but it is also necessary to question whether these were primarily causes or effects of the underlying political malaise. To the reviewer they reflect a situation in which traditional institutions of the bureaucratic polity continued to function as a barrier to political development.

Finally, the USA is criticized for failing to foresee the consequences of its actions for democratic growth. Washington "somehow never ceased operating on the assumption that a few key Thai military leaders behind the scenes were in control" (p. 82). Eventually this become a self-fulfilling prophecy. No empathy was ever shown for the democratic experiment, and no effort made to tailor assistance to its needs. This assessment is doubtlessly correct, but again it would have helped Zimmerman's analysis if an attempt had been made to compare the significance of this point with other factors. If the USA had mobilized its resources to support democracy, would the end result have been different? Probably not.

Bradley, as mentioned earlier, sees the root cause of 6 October in the continuance, essentially intact, of the pre-October 1973 power structure. Since both the right and left perceived this to be the case, they doubted the powers of the new parliament, and took politics to the streets. The 'radical' style and tactics of the reformers alarmed many Thais, and led conservatives to counter by establishing extreme right-wing organizations such as the Red Gaurs, Nawapol, and Village Scouts. Endemic political violence was the result. Fear then developed a dynamic of its own, with the public blaming the left for instigating violence rather than the right for carrying it out. It is easy to see why people came to fear the left. As both left and right resorted to street politics, "Bangkok was in chaos by the standards of the previous forty years"

(p. 17). Halting but sincere efforts to change economic and social policies, and a foreign policy that forced the US military withdrawal and sought rapprochement with communist regimes in Indochina and China, were too slow for the left but too threatening for everyone else. The victory of Indochinese communist movements in 1975, stories brought by thousands of Indochina refugees flooding into Thailand, and the Lao government's abolition of the monarchy, all gravely alarmed conservative Thais.

The murder of Boonsanong, presumed by right-wing assassins, on 28 February 1976 is seen as a turning point. Following this many left-wing activists either departed for the jungle or opted out of politics. The election on 4 April "confirmed the growing strength of the right". Additionally, it brought to power Seni Pramoj, a less able politician than his brother Kukrit. The death of Kris Sivara in the same month hastened the crisis as he had "both unified the Army and played a moderating role in civilian affairs" (p. 19). These specific incidents were, however secondary to the underlying process being worked out, namely the increasing polarization between left and right. As this developed, "difference of degree became a difference in kind to be resolved only by the subjugation of one side or the other, through force and violence if need be . . ." (p. 22).

Bradley's argument is clearly and succinctly developed. This reviewer would quibble only on three minor details. Firstly, in discussing foreign policy it is suggested that Thai leaders considered an alliance of the 'mainland-state' members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)—i.e. Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore—with Indochina, to offset the island states of Indonesia and the Philippines. No evidence is cited for this, and there are several reasons why it seems improbable. Malaysia, for instance, could hardly be expected to unite against Indonesia when the leaders of these countries share so many cultural similarities. An alliance between anti-communist Singapore and Indochina also looks inherently improbable. And since Thailand was already then aligning itself with China to limit Vietnamese influence, it would have required prodigious feats of diplomatic juggling to have used Viet Nam for a similar policy *vis-à-vis* Indonesia and the Philippines. Secondly, the massive vote for the Democrats in the April 1976 election cannot be classified as a victory for the right. It was a victory for a party which over decades had established itself as a dependable, liberal-conservative grouping, far removed from the extremes of both left and right (though by this time the party had factions from both groups). Thirdly, the forced abdication of the Lao monarch in late 1975 was probably a greater factor in focusing public awareness on the ills of communist rule than the later complete abolition of the monarchy.

The post-coup government

The October 1976 coup group, according to Zimmerman, acted mainly to prevent coups from one or possibly two other sources. They were not equipped with a long-range plan, and their initial reactions reflected confusion above all else. Also, their development was inhibited by having the group internally divided into at least three factions. For these reasons they initially appointed as Prime Minister Thanin Kraivixien, "a civilian but viewed as a trusted hardline anti-communist who was also honest. The Military Advisory Council decided to let him tackle many of the development and administration problems on his own, but finally grew

weariness of Thanin's excessive conservatism and obsessive anti-communism that resulted in neglect of other fundamental development programmes" (p. 89). Zimmerman also criticizes the 'depressing', harshly applied restrictions on nearly all forms of political activity.

Bradley makes no reference to the coup being preventive in nature. He appears to accept that the coup group lacked a long-range plan, but attributes this to the backward ideology adhered to by the military and used to justify the coup, namely support for the three traditional Thai institutions of monarchy, nation and the Buddhist religion. The appointment of Thanin is not linked to a lack of military preparedness but, implicitly, is seen as part of the traditional post-coup legitimization process. The 'new military regime', it is argued, was "quickly formalized in a civilian-led cabinet and an appointed national assembly legitimized by royal support and a modified version of the 1968 Constitution" (p. 25). Thus, the Thanin Cabinet is not considered to have had any independent powers. The stability and political longevity of the regime is, however, questioned because of conflicts within the ruling military elite and the doubtful ability of the government to devise and implement changes necessary to sustain public support and lead the country towards modernity.

These two accounts reveal widely differing interpretations of events surrounding the October 1976 coup. What conclusions should be drawn? Several other analyses refer to the preemptive nature of the coup, and the evidence for this seems strong. It is inconceivable, however, that the coup leaders would not have had a contingency plan ready for an emergency. There is, moreover, considerable evidence that they were also working to bring down the Seni government, when events forced them into immediate action.

There was, thus, some confusion after the coup, though not to the extent that this necessitated the appointment of an outsider. Bradley is probably correct in seeing Thanin's appointment as reflecting a traditional pattern. Civilians were also appointed as Prime Minister to legitimize military coups in 1932, 1947 and 1957.

Both Zimmerman and Bradley oversimplify the nature of relations between the coup leaders and Thanin's Cabinet: the Cabinet was neither permitted to tackle many of the development and administration problems on its own, nor was it merely a tool for the military. The Cabinet sought to demonstrate its independence shortly after it was formed when the Interior Minister, Samak Sundaravej, dismissed the chief of police—a member of the coup group—and appointed his own candidate. This immediately created tension between the two groups, which grew as Thanin steadfastly rejected attempts to impinge on the Cabinet's independence. Gradually, this problem was compounded by the emergence of a policy difference between the two groups. Military leaders soon learned that the hard-line anti-communism pursued by Thanin made their task of combatting insurgency and guarding border regions more difficult. For several months before the coup it was clear that the military favoured a distinctly more conciliatory approach, domestically and internationally, than that pursued by the government.

Both writers correctly note that divisions within the military had negative implications for stability. However, discussion of this is highly speculative, and provides no reliable indicators to the nature or extent of the phenomenon. The capacity of the military to hold together

also appears to have been underrated. In the long period the military has dominated Thai politics there have only been two occasions—in 1957 and 1973—when internal divisions became so pronounced that they contributed to the overthrow of a government.

In both works the logic of the Thanin government is seen, apocalyptically, as leading to a communist triumph. Both draw analogies with the former regime in South Viet Nam. According to Zimmerman:

The country and Bangkok remain particularly ripe for communist-inspired terrorism. Since the October 1976 coup the CPT has had no nongovernmental competition—ideological, political or organizational—precisely the situation the Viet Cong and the Hanoi Politburo faced in South Viet Nam (p. 93).

Bradley argues that the backward-looking Bangkok leaders are “likely to come to a similar end as did those in Saigon, Vientiane and Phnom Penh for they confront a comparable set of hostile circumstances and have shown no sign of having devised any new or alternative policies for coping with these challenges” (p. 27). The scenario is one of a steadily growing insurgency. Gains to the CPT from the influx of intellectuals after October 1976 would lead to more government repression, but this would be counter-productive. Failure to solve the problem this way would make the government appear inept, and cause it to face a crisis of authority. This in turn would lead to greater opportunism, corruption etc., and hence more insurgency. Political instability would also cause money to be sent abroad or channelled into areas of quick return, and the resulting economic problems would cause greater political instability. In two to four years another coup further from the right would be a distinct possibility, hastening the ultimate collapse. Within as short a time period as five years the right might have completely lost its capacity to govern, following which “insurgent leaders will come in from the hills to reeducate the populace along Marxist lines” (p. 37).

These accounts represent, in effect, a refurbished ‘domino theory’. It is ironic that this, once the preserve of the right wing, is now being resurrected by its former bitter opponents: liberals and socialists. The new theory, though it focuses more on internal dynamics than external conquest, is scarcely more convincing than the old. Post-democratic conditions in Thailand differ vastly from those in Indochina prior to the success of communism there. Compared, for instance, with South Viet Nam at any stage from the 1950s, in Thailand (a) the insurgency is pitifully small, its support is still based largely on appeals to regionalism and ethnicity, and it lacks a distinctly national identity; (b) there is no equivalent of the split between a ruling Catholic minority and the mass of Buddhist believers; (c) landlessness remains well below the previous level in South Viet Nam and has not, in any case, been a significant factor in CPT growth (the central region has the greatest land-tenancy problem, and is also the least penetrated by the CPT).

Zimmerman’s claim, that after October 1976 the absence of nongovernmental competition to the CPT makes the situation analogous to South Viet Nam, overlooks important organizations such as Boy Scouts and Village Scouts which continued to actively proclaim an alternative to communism, and it implicitly underestimates the substantial difference in governmental capacity between the two countries. Bradley overstates the ‘backwardness’ of Thai leaders. Even members of the Thanin government recognized the need for socio-economic change.

And in recent years anti-insurgency policy has been directed by military leaders (such as the generals Saiyud Kerdphol and Prem Tinsulanond) well aware of the importance of social reform and the limits of outright repression. The realization of reform has been hampered far more by intractable practical problems than by lack of awareness.

Is it, moreover, reasonable to assume that while the government moves from one disaster to the next, the CPT will go from strength to strength? The CPT has not had a particularly impressive record to date, and recent international events have not been favourable. Developments in Indochina since 1975 have provoked widespread public horror, and have obviously made the task of winning popular support more difficult. CPT support for China in the Sino-Vietnamese conflict has clearly complicated its relations with communist movements in Indochina, and may well cause dissension within the party. It is also difficult to see what rewards its fidelity to China might bring, in view of the close ties now being forged between Peking and Bangkok.

Zimmerman, however, while not ignoring domestic factors, sees the main communist danger in the form of external pressures and manipulation. He does not believe that Viet Nam and the Pathet Lao will pass up the opportunity for 'political war', and claims that the attitude and intentions of China are 'unknown'. This is probably a reasonable assumption of Vietnamese and Laotian intentions, but it must still be asked what dangers this poses to Thailand? Assistance to the CPT so far appears to have been limited to the provision of sanctuaries in Laos and Kampuchea (both now in doubt), plus political and moral support. As earlier mentioned, even American government sources concede that Viet Nam has provided virtually no material aid to Thai insurgents since 1975. The author's claim that a *Nhan Dan* commentary in August 1977 (i.e. during the ideologically anti-communist Thanin regime) was "a rationale for active Vietnamese support for the communist cause in Thailand" is unsubstantiated; it was more likely a substitute for such support. Chinese attitudes and intentions may still be the subject of some debate, but can hardly be considered unknown. China has, for instance, long indicated that it draws a distinction between government-to-government and party-to-party relations, but seems nonetheless to have reassured most Thai leaders, since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1975, that the type of party-to-party relations envisaged does not constitute a threat to Thailand. Border conflicts with Kampuchea are discussed at length (and those with Laos noted), and in each case communist perfidy is assumed. Since, however, Thai military leaders attributed several of the disputes to conflicting claims over boundary alignment, it is doubtful that these could be considered evidence of a dire external threat to Thailand's security.

The October 1977 coup

In spite of on-going communist dangers, Zimmerman is euphoric about the October 1977 coup. Thanin was removed because he opposed the military's policy of a freer political process and more capable men in Cabinet posts. The Thanin government approximated 'encapsulated authoritarianism' (similar to a bureaucratic polity), though it espoused 'developmental authoritarianism' (political stability, reliance on experts, and bureaucratic effectiveness). The succeeding government of General Kriangsak Chomanan, on the other hand, is accelerating the move towards a democratic political process, and can definitely be considered a 'development authori-

tarian' government" (p. 109). Young and Bradley add a brief epilogue to their manuscript expressing a similar, though more moderately expressed, viewpoint. Thanin's removal is seen as

a victory of traditional Thai pragmatism over an ideological approach to politics, for the intention of the coup leaders seems to be to pull back from harsh confrontation and adopt a posture of balance and accommodation. . . . It seems also that an innate Thai preference for fluid adjustment, so aptly displayed in international affairs for centuries, is at work within the body politic as well. If this is so, the prognosis for Thailand could be favourable over a long period of time (p. 58).

Events since these accounts were written have obviously raised doubts about some aspects of these analyses, but were they plausible assessments at the time? Had Bradley followed through the implications of arguing that Thanin's appointment reflected a traditional pattern of legitimizing changes of government, the 1977 coup would have been viewed as one of consolidation. There were at least elements of a simple power contest—the military against Cabinet members such as Samak Sundaravej and Dusit Siriwan—which indicate that consolidation was a factor. In the initial months of his government, Prime Minister Kriangsak did have considerable success in heading a government of reconciliation, and improving relations with neighbouring communist countries (though this was already underway, as Kriangsak's retention of Thanin's Foreign Minister emphasized). Achievements in other areas were by no means as apparent. Zimmerman, however, accepts declaratory policy at its face value, ignoring the fact that promises to give immediate, high priority to rural policies and social development all had their Thanin counterparts. Indeed there is a general uncritical willingness to assume that all developments under the new regime are for the best. It is even suggested that proposed constitutional changes to limit the number of parties (not in fact adopted) "would remove one of the major causes of instability" (p. 110), though the democratic period surely provides ample evidence that deep fissures in Thailand's political culture cannot be abolished by legal *fiat*. Similarly, the experience of these years should have cautioned against assuming that 'democracy' will aid political stability, before there is evidence that the form of democracy contemplated actually is useful. Thanin emerges from this analysis blacker than black; Kriangsak (along with Kukrit, Boonchu and one or two others) whiter than white. Thai politics would more accurately be represented by a canvas featuring various shades of grey.

Thailand's relations with Southeast Asia and the USA

While these monographs dwell on domestic Thai politics, there is an awareness throughout that the internal political situation is vitally affected by external events. References relating to the domestic significance of 1975 communist successes in Indochina, and Thai-US relations, have already been noted. The concluding sections of both works focus more specifically on aspects of Thai foreign relations.

Zimmerman looks at Thailand and Southeast Asia in a chapter of only six pages. It begins by noting that if ASEAN is strengthened the position of Thailand will be enhanced. Proceeding in a circular manner it then reiterates arguments about the dire regional threats posed by Viet Nam and China, and asserts that consequently Thailand (presumably because it is the first in line, and the least politically stable) is the key to the future development of ASEAN. As Prime Minister Kriangsak is considered to be following policies appropriate to the country's needs, the account ends on an optimistic note.

Bradley has an important section on Thai-US relations. This begins with an historical background in which it is argued that from the time of the 'Cold War' the two countries had developed a unique patron-client relationship, qualitatively different from the normal ties between the USA and its less powerful allies. Cited as an illustration is the US response to communist gains in Laos in 1962, taken under the Rusk-Thanat agreement of that year, of stationing 10,000 combat troops in Thailand. The argument continues:

Here was a classical example of the patron-client relationship, raised from the domestic to the international level, entailing reciprocal but asymmetrical obligations unfamiliar to the United States but standard practice in Thailand's conduct of foreign policy. . . . With the Rusk-Thanat Agreement of 1962 [by which the US pledged to defend Thailand unilaterally, if necessary, under the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)] the United States assumed an obligation that affected the vital interests of Thailand but not those of United States. The sending of American combat troops to Thailand that same year meant that the Thai Government, from its perspective, could feel genuinely secure in its alliance" (p. 41).

The example is unfortunately chosen since it was actually the USA that had requested permission to send the troops, not Thailand. Yet, even if this had not been the case, there is nothing in the example to indicate that Thai-US relations were unique. Being the world's premier power, the USA could in all its alliances, with the possible exception of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), impose asymmetrical obligations. No American would have believed that the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) protected American vital interests in the same way as it protected those of Australia and New Zealand. But Americans, in 1962, did believe that they had a vital interest in preventing communist encroachments in all countries. Thailand's strategic position *vis-à-vis* the troubled Indochina region made its support crucial. It is simply not the case that the Rusk-Thanat Agreement, in the eyes of the administration at the time, did not bear on American vital interests.

Bradley sees Thai-US relations as entering a somewhat indeterminate state after the 1969 Guam doctrine warned of a declining US commitment to the region. Elected Thai governments during 1975 and 1976 showed signs of moving towards a genuine partnership with the US in joint regional concerns, until "an indifferent response from Washington to the Thai concern for readjustment in the degree of overt Thai dependency on America's military initiatives precipitated an eviction of the American military save for a handful of advisors" (p. 44). A number of options for future US policy are canvassed, and a decision finally made in favour of assuming the initiative "in devising a coherent strategy for Thai development that relates American assistance to the Thai government's policies toward its own citizens" (p. 47). This is justified with much idealistic rhetoric about the need for an American foreign policy "dedicated to the economic, social, and ultimately political enfranchisement of the world's peoples" (p. 51). Such a policy, it is claimed, "would call for a joint effort with the Thais to identify a feasible evolution of Thai society, to assist the Thai in designing programs that might alleviate the causes of insurgency. . ." (p. 54). It is not a return to a patron-client relationship since the partnership would be more an equal one, although American participation would require Thai adherence to certain 'minimum' democratic criteria — political decentralization, institutional means for popular political participation, and freedom of expression. Conveniently, idealism in this context does not conflict with professional interest:

Should such a culturally sensitive approach become a general basis for American foreign policy, it would necessitate increased initiatives and support for locally focussed international studies in order to expand the cadre of Americans, both within the government and without, required to make the requisite analyses and recommendations (p. 54, fn. 21).

It is, however, difficult to imagine such a policy ever being implemented. If literally interpreted, few countries in the world would meet the minimum democratic criteria demanded. Moreover, there is an implicit assumption that social scientists are well-equipped to analyse the causes of insurgency and prescribe the necessary social changes to overcome these. Belief in the efficacy of applied social science, a distinctly American phenomenon, has not, however, been borne out by events. Indeed, in the 1960s America channelled massive investment into applied research on Thailand, with few notable successes. The complexities of social engineering still elude the social science disciplines. Finally, it is questionable whether many Thais would welcome a future relationship in which American officials defined essential national objectives, then exercised a major role in guiding their implementation.

Thailand's position within a broader regional and international context is, indeed, the area least adequately covered in these monographs. In view of the aforementioned nexus between foreign and domestic events, and the greatly increased complexity of intraregional relations since the 1975 communist victories in Indochina, this shortcoming is not insignificant.

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FRONTIERS WITHIN FRONTIERS:
THE PERSISTENCE OF THAI ETHNICITY IN
KELANTAN, MALAYSIA*

Brokers of Morality: Thai Ethnic Adaptation in a Rural Malaysian Setting

by Louis Golomb

Asian Studies at Hawaii No. 23

Honolulu, Hawaii; the University Press of Hawaii, 1978; xiv + 240 pp., ill.

The conditions for a successful integration of ethnic minorities into 'new nations'—or rapidly developing but long-established nations like Thailand—have been one of the characteristic concerns of contemporary political science, and it will be part of my concern in this article to illustrate the relevance of political science in this respect. But the traditional preoccupation of political scientists with the 'state', and our seduction more recently by the easy opportunities of international relations, seem to have left us with little research on the critical rural sphere to our credit. Perhaps some political scientists have a sense of the futility of competing with the social anthropologists, whose institutionally inherited techniques and ever more sophisticated methodology constitute in themselves a most remarkable case of human adaptation. Both by training and, in many cases thanks to innate linguistic and cross-cultural aptitudes, social anthropologists seem to have a head start. They combine a traditional disciplinary orientation to rural societies with a thoroughly up-to-date interest in modernization, viewed typically as a process of culture contact and cultural change. Taken together with the relative inactivity of other disciplines, such factors have enabled social anthropologists to produce some of the most exciting and relevant research on **ethnic** contact and assimilation in modern southeast Asia.

For Thailand and the Thai-speaking peoples there are the essays in Kunstadter's collection (Kunstadter 1967), or Moerman's work on the Thai Lue (Moerman 1965; 1967a; 1967b). Conceptual convergence in south Thailand was the subject of a suggestive paper in this journal a few years ago (Burr 1972). And for the Thai-speaking valley people of upland Burma and their symbiotic relationship with the hill people, there is Edmund Leach's classic study (Leach 1954)—through which, as through his own (Leach 1960) and others' later work, runs the theme that processes of adaptation and integration as such, between indigenous minorities and majority groups, are of extremely ancient standing (cf. Kunstadter 1967:42). However, 'many of the minority peoples in southeast Asian countries were, and still are, internally organized on a level which necessarily brings them into structural opposition with the "central government"' (Kunstadter 1967:41) with its battery of new normative concepts, ranging from 'economic development' through 'the nation' to 'imperatives of national security'. Even

*The author acknowledges the generous support of the London-Cornell Project and the Nuffield Foundation for his earlier field research in Kelantan, in 1966-67 and 1974 respectively.

where 'structural opposition' is not present—as I have argued for the Thais of northeast Malaya that it is not (Kershaw 1968; 1969: 28, 168-173)¹ — there is fertile theoretical territory to be explored, both from political science and social anthropological perspectives. But in relation to the 7,000-odd Kelantan Thais it is once again social anthropology which has made the running with Dr Louis Golomb's outstandingly professional monograph, based on a Stanford University thesis.²

It is a central tenet of Malay nationalism that the former colonial power drew its frontier with Thailand with such restraint and imperial modesty in order to divide the Malays, the more easily to subjugate them. Seen from Bangkok, however, the British forward movement encroached all too persistently on the old Siamese domain, by absorbing Kelantan and Kedah. And it needs only a passing awareness of the ethnic patchwork of indigenous southeast Asia for one to anticipate the presence of Thais south of the border—albeit a far smaller and more docile minority than Malaysia would have to handle if it had inherited, or should ever presume to annex, the 'four southern provinces'.

At first sight the Thais of Kelantan and Kedah might seem to fit rather imperfectly Leach's model of an ethnic group whose language 'has no necessary implications for the historical antecedents of the individuals concerned' (Leach 1960: 51), for their presence in present-day Malaysia must owe something—at least indirectly—to the southward expansion of the Thai state in the pre-colonial epoch. Yet notwithstanding the proximity and appeal of modern Thailand, the capacity of the Malaysian Thais to adapt to their social environment is still mainly determined (and ensured) by their ancestral ecological position as rice farmers in a Malay society (cf. Kershaw 1969: 81-94; Golomb: 20). Where Leach's discussion is especially helpful is in reminding us not so much of the well-advertised 'artificiality' of colonial boundaries in cutting off minorities like the Malaysian Thais from their 'homeland' (given ethnic intermingling, could there ever be a 'non-artificial' boundary in southeast Asia?), but rather, of the shifting and imprecise nature of **traditional** boundaries. The point, for our present context, is that Siamese power in the Malay culture area (including Pattani

1. Nor did I imply that there was in any really meaningful sense 'structural' opposition between the Kelantan Thai and Kelantan Malay spirit worlds, as Burr (1972: 192) believes. I wrote rather of two parallel or counterpart segments of one universe (Kershaw 1969: 165).

2. Among Golomb's particular advantages in approaching a study of the Kelantan Thais was his facility in standard Thai, acquired on US Peace Corps service. It is not clear whether during 15 months in Kelantan he actually switched to using the local Thai dialect but as a speaker of the standard language he was much better equipped than I during my research at Ban Semerak in 1966-67 and 1974 to spot convergences of the cognitive and syntactical structure of Kelantan Thai with Kelantan Malay. It is locally reported that his Kelantan Malay reached an impressive standard of credibility—perhaps as a consequence of **not** having lived or worked previously in Malaysia in the thrall of the standard language. That he did not take up residence in the Thai village which he studied is at first sight surprising but it may conceivably have facilitated his access to the neighbouring Malay village as a 'neutral observer'.

until quite recently in time) was exercised indirectly, as elsewhere on the Thai periphery, and alternated between periods of greater and lesser control. Thus the entry of Thai peasants was no doubt facilitated, if not promoted, at times of expansion and tightened control, but they were left to their own devices and had to make their own political and cultural adjustments to the host society most of the time.

My own interest as a political scientist has been partly in the effect of these historical realities on the Kelantan Thais' response to pressures and opportunities to identify politically with Malaysia. I have conceived historical experience as a process by which groups learn to interpret and evaluate their political environment. The ancient Kelantan Thai values of political passivity and willing clientship to Malay patrons are of great integrative significance so long as the contemporary environment accommodates and rewards such values (the tendency in the present decade has been for political party development to build on that kind of political culture and social structure; cf. Kershaw 1975). The experience of British rule generally reinforced the political culture in question but at the same time implanted a destabilizing, even slightly 'subversive', notion of a complex and correct hierarchy of the races. This hierarchy was headed by the benevolent British, who afforded a place of influence and honour to the urban Chinese as the most meritorious Asian category, but gave the law impartially to all. The 'subversive' effect of this simultaneously 'ideological' and 'home-made' model (Ward 1965) of the colonial political structure derives partly from the high status which it attributes (wrongly, of course, in a Malay Protectorate) to the Chinese; for many Kelantan Chinese are linked to the Thais by kinship, and their putatively favoured position in colonial society was vicariously enjoyed by the Thais themselves. A second and more important reason why the Thais' model of the colonial political structure may be characterised as 'subversive' is that Malays and Thais are recorded, in that model, as enjoying completely equal status, as the humble but honourable cultivators at the base of the structure.³ The Malays' pretensions to replace the British as the superordinate ethnic category after independence were contrary to the Thais' new expectations of corporate equality in rural society. The British had provided a degree of security from banditry and Islamic encroachment which was beyond the capacity of Malay patrons in the past. With independence, in 1957, the old spectres of material dispossession (cf. Kershaw 1977) and the advance of Islam came together and were instantly identified in the rise of the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party as the dominant political force in Kelantan State. In the absence of an independent political structure the Thais' reaction was passive as in times past, but it was a passivity leaning towards alienation. It is mainly economic prosperity, the reviving possibilities of dependence on Malay patrons, and the continuing, relatively high status of the Chinese

3. They were not in fact equal as to access to land under British Malay Reservation Law but the absence of population pressure on land before World War II, and the flexible administration of the law by British District Officers, prevented the Thais from becoming aware of the new position. Golomb commits a minor error where he states (p 32; p 205, n 5) that Siamese land was excluded from Malay Reservation until sold to a Malay. In fact it was always under Malay Reservation but heritable by Thais until sold to a Malay. It is also worth pointing out that the law does not, technically, prohibit land purchase by non-Malays but makes it conditional on permission granted by the Ruler in Council. Although not nearly as generous and flexible as the British, Malay DOs have sometimes recommended the repurchase of land within Thai villages by Thais. At the same time, I must correct an error of my own (Kershaw 1968: 11; 1969: 123) where I have stated that Malaysian citizenship is a necessary condition of inheriting land. This is not so—although some elements in political parties and district administration believe or have pretended that it is.

in Thai perceptions (Kershaw 1973)⁴ that have kept incipient political alienation within limits.

Nevertheless, it is also true—and necessary—to point out that the blusterings of the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party in the independence period did not lead in practice to any assault on the Thais' most precious institution, their Buddhist religion, nor on such symbols of Thai identity as pig-rearing. Security for the more conspicuous items of Thai culture provided a framework within which assimilation and political integration could proceed partly unawares (cf. Kershaw 1969: 166-167). I have even toyed with the idea that abrasive and menacing behavioural forms of the kind that is typified in Thai perceptions by Malay male circumcision may indirectly assist integration by helping to maintain ethnic solidarity and hence the underlying subjective security of the minority group (Kershaw 1979).

The foregoing conducted tour through my own modest contributions on the Kelantan Thais will only be justified if it has set the stage in general terms for a summary of Golomb's book and has provided a standard by which to appreciate the qualities of an alternative, modern social anthropological approach skilfully handled. Golomb's work is situated squarely in that current of studies for which a well-known collection of ten years ago (Barth 1969) is simultaneously a milestone of distance covered and signpost to subsequent development. This current of studies is concerned with the cultural 'boundaries' that demarcate and help to perpetuate ethnic units in poly-ethnic social systems.

The critical focus from this point of view becomes the ethnic *boundary* that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses. The boundaries to which we must give our attention are of course social boundaries, though they may have territorial counterparts. If a group maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signalling membership and exclusion. Ethnic groups are not merely or necessarily based on the occupation of exclusive territories; and the different ways in which they are maintained, not only by a once-and-for-all recruitment but by continual expression and validation, need to be analysed.

What is more, the ethnic boundary canalizes social life—it entails a frequently quite complex organization of behaviour and social relations. The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus entails the assumption that the

4. Golomb (p 106) has cited this article in support of the proposition that as rather powerless minority groups in an overwhelmingly Malay State the Thais and Chinese have been drawn together in mutual antipathy to the dominant group. In fact, while admitting that Chinese power is illusory, I tried to make the point that the Thais' assumption that the Chinese had not suffered as much from Independence as they themselves had done was a factor reconciling the Thais to modern Malay government at first. (The article in question has also appeared in: 1976 Denys Lombard, ed., *Chinois d'Outre-Mer*; Paris, l'Asiatheque; 83-96. This printing is more accurate than the 1973 version, which lacked *inter alia* the fourth line in n 13, p 6.) In further connection with the Kelantan Chinese, Golomb (p 211, n 41) generously attributes to me the insight that Thai Buddhism has been able to fill a need for literacy among the local Chinese. My recollection of our conversation (in Kota Bharu, 1974) is that Golomb's thoughts were developing along the same lines as my own at the time, and it was certainly he who first referred to the Thais as the 'priestly caste' of the Chinese. At any rate the underlying implication in Kershaw 1973 of a diachronic exchange (the Chinese today repaying the Thais for their assistance towards integration in the past) needs to give way to the idea of a living transaction, constantly renewed on both sides.

two are fundamentally "playing the same game", and this means that there is between them a potential for diversification and expansion of their social relationship to cover eventually all different sectors and domains of activity. On the other hand, a dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest. (Barth 1969: 15.)

Discussing the options open, specifically, to agents of change in minority groups which face pressures for assimilation or rapid modernization, Barth suggests a choice of three basic strategies:

(i) they may attempt to pass and become incorporated in the pre-established industrial society and cultural group; (ii) they may accept a "minority" status, accommodate to and seek to reduce their minority disabilities by encapsulating all cultural differentiae in sectors of non-articulation, while participating in the larger system of the industrialized group in the other sectors of activity; (iii) they may choose to emphasize ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purposes. (Barth 1969: 33.)

It is the third strategy which Golomb identifies, in effect, as the typical, almost the defining, response of one Kelantan Thai village community of 41 households, isolated from other Thai villages and forced by proximity and economic dependence into daily interaction with Malay neighbours.⁵ To be precise in anthropological terms, it is not, of course, 'the community' which 'responds' to its situation by some collective, conscious decision to adjust in a particular way. Nor is Golomb concerned solely with the roles of conspicuous agents of change in the defensive modification of identity—not all the modifications observed at Ban Sadang can be traced to innovator types, whose interactions with Malay society would sometimes seem to fall into the more assimilative, second strategy in Barth's typology. Golomb is concerned, rather, with the less tangible subject matter of group cultural evolution over a period of generations, a product of 'mechanisms' of adjustment which social anthropology must assume to exist, not simply in order to be able to talk about them, but because their 'effects' in present cultural patterns are plain enough to see. Generalizing about Kelantan Thai villages as a whole, the author writes:

one finds individual villages evolving their own microethnic identities based on local cultural contrasts with their immediate Malay outgroup neighbours. Sometimes neighbouring Thai and Malay villages have dichotomized, so it seems, the production of certain goods and services along ethnic lines, thereby stimulating a healthy economic interdependence while revitalizing ethnic distinctiveness. In time, these complementarities have become ingrained local traditions. The overall picture becomes one of remarkable cultural diversification, linked to the preservation of . . . the "ethnic category". Faced with menacing assimilative pressures, each Kelantanese Thai village is left to negotiate its own definition of "Thainess", which it presents as a united front to its Malay neighbours. In some cases the elaboration of this ethnic distinctiveness figures as an excellent strategy for exploiting otherwise implausible ecological niches. (Golomb: 12-13.)

5. In the interests of the villagers' privacy the author never identifies the village in which he worked. Nor does the book include a map showing the location of the various Thai settlements in Kelantan and the 20 *war*, or any reference to Thai village names (though three Thai-Chinese villages which have established or share Thai *war* are frequently referred to by name). Yet Golomb's 'Siam Village' is known even beyond the borders of Kelantan by virtue of its late abbot's fame as a healer (his cremation was even reported in the Malaysian national media; Khoo 1978). As the village's exploitation of its abbot's fame was an important aspect of its 'articulation' with Kelantan society and as such a central theme in Golomb's book, no knowledgeable reader in Kelantan could be unaware of which village the study refers to. Moreover the Chinese son-in-law of the late Nai Ban and well-known contestant for the political leadership of the Kelantan Thais is clearly identifiable in a photograph of his wife's and daughter's ordination (to do merit for the late *Nai Ban*, if I recall correctly). I shall thus respect the village's 'anonymity' only to the extent of calling it by its Thai name, Ban Sadang.

It is as if these Thai villagers have unconsciously 'politicized' their ethnicity: that is, they do not organize themselves as a formal interest group but use cultural mechanisms to 'articulate' on favoured terms with the other Kelantan races, while reinforcing their identity not only in those sectors of their culture which are insulated from confrontation and modification, but most characteristically, even precisely, in domains of activity which presuppose interaction with out-groups. In short, specific cultural dichotomies are singled out and standardized as bases for structuring social and economic interactions. At all events, I think the point to be stressed is the extremely dynamic, out-going nature of this 'defensive' operation (here I eschew all pretence of anthropological terminology). Identity and the continuity of the group are secured by positive and constructive means, notwithstanding the unconscious element in the process. It must also be made clear—and it is at least implicit in Golomb's words about 'the symbolic reinforcement of Thai identity along a highly penetrable ethnic boundary' (p. 118)—that the better the 'defences' seem, the more accessible does the community become, in reality, to a long-term acceptance of identification with the modern Malaysian socio-political system, a process, ultimately if not simultaneously, of disincorporation as Thais.⁶ My own research has focused on the continuity of familiar, responsive structures and the possibilities of defensive alliances as factors for the persistence of such integrative tendencies in the minority group's political culture. I have also (Kershaw 1979) suggested the paradox that the very obstacles to cultural crossing raised by Islamic culture may be a factor enhancing the subjective security of a minority group and thus its propensity for political integration. In its examination of the Thais' response to their Malay environment, *Brokers of Morality* offers a complementary but much more subtle perspective, in that it pin-points and analyses dynamic changes in the 'moving frontier' of Kelantan Thai culture itself.⁷

I propose to summarize Golomb's findings under three themes which run intermingled through his book. I shall classify the examples of cultural adaptation somewhat more method-

6. This may also be the ultimate significance of the observation that conservative practices in some spheres 'contribute to the continuity and stability of the Siam Villagers' ethnic identity. In so doing, they release the villagers from conservative commitments in at least some other realms of cultural activity. In particular, villagers become more receptive to behavioral modifications which do lead to increased cultural complementarity with local Malay communities' (p. 162); or even more to the point: 'diversionary boundary markers'... can be said to function as cognitive "defense mechanisms" which permit cultural minorities like the Siam Villagers to preserve their distinctive cultural identities while undergoing incorporation into a larger pluralistic socio-cultural system' (p. 182).

7. Perhaps the nearest I have come to this kind of insight is in the observation (Kershaw 1969: 160, 166) that in a polity where a Malay is defined pre-eminently by his religion, Thai identity redefines itself with similar emphasis on Buddhism. There is also the intriguing case of the partial nakedness of Thai women, ignored by Golomb (Kershaw 1969: 264-265). But such cultural differentiae are located in spheres of non-articulation and as such need little ingenuity to identify! A reference to economic interdependence and mutual regard (Kershaw 1969: 77) is not followed up, while my discussion of Thai medicine and *nora* (op. cit.: 286-288) in Malay society emphasizes Malay co-option of Thai cultural assets as opposed to their controlled, voluntary adaptation. I will recur later in this article to the question of differential assimilation between Thai villages and its implications for and relationship to 'political integration'.

ically and explicitly than Golomb has done himself, leaning perhaps towards oversimplification in the interests of brevity. In one case I shall take the liberty of questioning Golomb's own classification of a behavioural item.

For our first theme or category of adaptation let us consider what amounts to Golomb's major and most exciting category: the use of new cultural contrasts as the basis for the organization of complementary economic roles between groups. Almost by definition—since these roles relate to spheres of evolving articulation—these cultural contrasts constitute fairly conspicuous departures from 'traditional' Thai culture; but if they receive the predictable positive feedback from the environment, again almost by definition 'Thai' identity is reinforced. At the bottom of a quite profound series of cultural changes is found the land shortage, which afflicts many Kelantanese⁸ but is felt more keenly by Thai communities like Ban Sadang because of the discriminatory land laws.⁹ The Thais of Ban Sadang have fashioned for themselves a number of alternative economic niches which, in combination, compensate amply for the lack of a rice surplus, while removing points of potential competition with out-groups. As 'brokers of morality' the Thais provide sundry opportunities for deviant Malays to gamble and drink on non-Muslim territory out of Islamic sight and sound;¹⁰ and a range of religious services to the Kelantan Chinese, with whom and for whom Buddhism is, of course, a permissible ground of interaction.¹¹ The provision of such religious services has involved a shift towards religious pragmatism, expressed not least in a declining fear of, and belief in, ghosts. Similarly there is a tangible scepticism about the efficacy of the charms dispensed so profitably to Malay clients. (I feel, though, that a reference to the far more profound rejection of animist belief and practice among Kelantan Malays younger than about 40 would have given a more realistic perspective to this aspect of change at Ban Sadang.) The most numerous type of 'medical' specialism at the village turns out to be that of the love-charm doctors (*mor saneh*): specialists who all in some degree have capitalized on the erotic element in the racial stereotype of the Thais in Kelantan society, derived in turn from the Siamese *nora*-man. The provision of love-medicine also supplies a need in a Malay society in which divorce is rife; but the Thais' ability to act in this capacity owes not a little to the convergence of Thai to Malay magical beliefs and moral categories.

Despite an adequate income from this kind of service, the Thais of Ban Sadang scorn the Malays' love of displaying wealth in the form of modern consumer goods, and recognise no special merit in the actions of rich Chinese who endow the *wat* with fine buildings and modern

8. An interesting possible parallel may be sought in Kessler 1978, where the thesis is put forward that land shortage and economic competition (an incipient class conflict situation) in Malay villages gave an indirect stimulus to Muslim identity, expressed through support for the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP). But it must be understood that Kessler, in emphasizing class conflict, is denying that Islamic sentiment is in any way a response to ethnic pluralism.

9. Cf. note 3 above.

10. It might have done more than just add a touch of local colour if Golomb had pointed out that the species of palm (the sugar palm) from which the Thais make fermented toddy is itself something of a physical 'boundary-marker' in Kelantan. The Malays make unfermented toddy from the coconut palm as a 'health drink'.

11. Cf. notes 4 and 5 above. The Thais have also enjoyed favoured access to urban employment through Chinese patrons, and Thai women have married into Chinese society on a remarkable scale for several generations (Kershaw 1973). Recently a further distinct phenomenon of Thai urbanization has begun—I am familiar with centres at Kota Bharu and Pasir Puteh—but Golomb (p 12) insists there is no such thing.

facilities.¹² In fact the Thais cultivate an image of distinct indigence—a behaviour trait which is not just another marker of ethnic identity, Golomb points out, but reinforces economic complementarity by persuading out-groups that the Thais deserve to be pitied for their poverty, not feared as an economic threat. The cultivation of a strong tobacco variety for village-based shredding and sale on the local self-rolled cigarette market is another non-competitive feature in the Thais' economy. Further, the development of outside sources of income has enabled the Thai to give up the breeding of water buffaloes, those indispensable providers of plough power in deep mud where even a tractor cannot venture. Whether ploughing with tractors or a buffalo the Thais turn to Malays for their hire. The notion that 'Thais don't keep water buffaloes' is now strongly entrenched as an ethnic boundary marker at Ban Sadang, though clearly contradicted as an objective proposition in other Kelantan Thai villages. The Thais of Sadang are not without some reciprocal recompense, however, for since the local Malays have moved over to double-cropping (thanks to the Kemubu Irrigation Scheme), the buffalo-owners must perforce graze their beasts on the Thais' fallow fields, which gain from the rich manure.¹³

Also in this review of adaptive cultural contrasts in the service of economic complementarity, mention must be made of the southern Thai dramatic art form, the *nora*, whose appeal to the Malays reputedly gave rise to the original invitation to the ancestors of the Ban Sadang Thais to go and settle there. The survival of *nora* in Kelantan in contrast to Tak Bai across the frontier in Thailand is attributable in Golomb's assessment to its successful absorption of elements of the Malay *makyong*, the use of Malay even for the traditional dialogues of the story, and the augmentation of the *nora* troupes with Malay actors and instrumentalists. So long as *nora* does survive it provides a basis not only of complementarity but also of valuable personal interactions with the Malay community.

At this point we may consider what I would regard as a separate category of adaptation or at least as a subcategory of cultural contrasts having relevance for economic complementarity. The contrasts examined thus far have all involved **change** in or from an original cultural feature. In my judgement Golomb makes too little distinction between his *nora*-men and the wild-boar hunters in this respect. True, they are both characterised by a love of roving and adventure; it seems to make good sense to identify them both as representatives of the *nak leng* culture-hero type and no doubt as innovators in the linguistic sphere at least. It also seems extraordinarily valuable on Golomb's part to have pointed out that they both consort with Malay friends drawn from distant places and of similar personality type, and that these friendships in consequence are not subject to the restraints on commensalism and curiosity about each other's religious practices which operate in the neighbourhood of Ban Sadang. But if this is a case of adaptation in any sense, is it not a case of breaking through the Thais' recent, adaptational boundaries,

12. But it seems a little risky to claim that the Kelantan Thais' emphasis on social action in preference to *wat* construction as a means of gaining merit is unique in Thai Buddhism, a product of the peculiar circumstances of Kelantan.

13. Although a perceptive reporter of agricultural practices in so many ways, Golomb might have done well, I feel, to inform us of the actual months in which the Malays transplant their two crops, and the Thais their single crop. Being unfamiliar with double-cropping schedules myself, I can only supply October–November as the traditional Thai period. An anomaly of Buddhist life in Kelantan which I have always found entertaining is that Lent ends just as the east monsoon brings in the rainy season.

back to a notional *status quo ante* in which Thais had nothing to fear from Malay assimilation, oppression or exploitation? Within this context the *nora*-men have 'Malayized' their art, but in what way have the boar-hunters Malayized their boar-hunting? On the contrary they hunt uninhibitedly as their ancestors did. Is it not rather their Malay collaborators who have made subtle cultural compromises? I feel that the same observation could be made about the removal of dead Malay domestic animals (i.e. unslaughtered, taboo meat) by the Thais. This particular, highly complementary function involved no adaptation on the Thais' part and is practised completely openly.

Let us now turn to a third category of adaptation in Golomb's study, one that is strictly non-articulating and thus non-functional except for the reinforcement of identity: the consolidation or revival of symbolic ethnic traits. A prominent feature here is the persistent keeping of domestic pigs at Ban Sadang, even though it has revealed itself (to the anthropologist at least) to be hopelessly uneconomic. My own observations at Ban Semerak confirm the appallingly bad investment that pigs can be in times of raging disease.¹⁴ Correspondingly, beef with its powerfully Islamic connotations is effectively excluded from the Thai diet—a feature found at Semerak too. In the religious sphere the Kelantan Thai community evinces a very high rate of both male and female ordination compared to Thailand. Golomb records for Ban Sadang specifically the holding of Buddhist retreats, and I recall several instances of Kelantan Thais claiming that their community are better Thais than the Thais of Thailand, because more sober and devout. All these are examples of boundary consolidation with no relevance for complementarity, and related to spheres where assimilation is most feared—not because the danger there is objectively more real but perhaps because it is more easily conceptualized. Probably language is one such sphere where apprehension comes easily. In this connection Golomb's versatile analysis includes one especially telling point. The Thais exercise great ingenuity in transforming lexical borrowings phonologically so that the language remains unintelligible to Malays (and where Kelantan Malay and Kelantan Thai are phonemically compatible and the loan word may still be recognizable, the Ban Sadang Thais draw on their latent vocabulary of central or southern Thai words when Malays are present). But their own self-conscious ingenuity provides such reassurance that a profound revolution in the syntactical surface structure and underlying semantic categories of Kelantan Thai is enabled to pursue its inexorable course unnoticed.¹⁵

14. But I am surprised that Golomb should quote the high price of bran as a rational deterrent. I have had the impression that the price of bran is lower to the farmer who brings his own paddy to the mill.

15. Stimulated by Golomb's challenging example I hope to publish, before long, evidence of an even more radical development in the dialect of Semerak and Malai—this apart from its tone system, which, as Golomb correctly notes, is distinct from the main Kelantan/Tak Bai dialect. (It is necessary, though, to point out that Semerak/Malai is spoken in two other locations, not just one. Golomb—p 12—probably has in mind Ligi in the Padang Pa'Amat area of Pasir Puteh District. Besides this there is Pok Kiang in Trengganu, one of the two—not one, as in Golomb p 11—Thai settlements in that State. I also feel there may be some point in recognizing, within the main Kelantan/Tak Bai dialect, a distinct status for Bangsae'/Khaw Yohn.)

Golomb is careful to say—indeed it is crucial to his argument about micro-cultural differentiation—that the adaptations of Ban Sadang must not be assumed to be found duplicated in the other Thai villages of Kelantan. However, it may not be contrary to his intentions that the book conveys the impression that there are broadly two types of Kelantan Thai village: those isolated from other Thai settlements, and those near the international border which are far less isolated and thus less assimilated. Ban Sadang falls into the former class, of which it is implicitly representative in the general nature of its adaptation if not in the precise detail of its micro-cultural differentiae. I should like now to point out the possibility of another form of response to an encircling Malay environment, basing my remarks on some, though certainly not all, of my data from southeast Kelantan.

Ban Semerak in Pasir Puteh district is not only highly isolated from other Thai settlements—much more so than Ban Sadang—but also, until quite recently, from Malay habitation, by virtue of its location in a loop of the Semerak River with an infertile sandy heath to its immediate south. Historically, therefore, daily contact with the Malay community has been very limited, and the community has seemed to lack an intuitive sense of the need to avoid competition by developing new economic niches which simultaneously redefine, while reinforcing, identity (the only exception may be the practice of the adapted *nora* drama). Besides, pressure on land has been relatively slight. Thus as Thai males today seek regular employment for the first time in the modern Malaysian economy, they are competitors for jobs which, while lacking a cultural connotation as ‘typically Malay’, are already in fact something of a Malay preserve with heavy political backing. These Thais of the younger generation who work outside the village are peculiarly exposed to the dilemmas of a competitive market which offers no specialist niches and thus no refuges from assimilative pressures. Meanwhile the majority of villagers have received an abrupt awakening with the arrival of bilingualism among the young, for previously even the Semerak *nora*-master could not speak Malay with great facility or without a distinctive Thai accent. The encroachment of new Malay settlement close to the village boundary and the brazen curiosity of the modern Malay crowds which converge on the *wat* compound for temple fairs, are watched with timidity and foreboding. In order not to displease the large Malay element in the audience, the Kelantan *nora* is now performed with its full complement of Malay accretions, **even at the *wat***. This has prompted the opinion at Semerak that the Thais have ‘lost their *nora* to the Malays’.¹⁶

Comparing this kind of evidence with the situation at Sadang, one may wonder whether assimilatory pressures in isolated locations need always give rise to a side-stepping but ultimately positive and assimilating response. The point is that isolation can give rise to a sense of exposure which is too strong to be absorbed or abated by the cultural mechanism of a flexible ‘ethnic boundary’. Rather, identity may be reinforced in a spirit of resistance in the surviving spheres of non-articulation and in primary institutions. This is not to say that the concept of ‘political integration’ has no place in the analysis of the relations of a village like

16. The reader must not take this as a mere expression of exclusivism towards an inherited cultural asset, but try to imagine the feelings of village folk, especially women, who simply cannot understand the vulgar Malay of the new dialogues and are easily intimidated by the jostling, sometimes rowdy groups of Malays in the darkness around the *nora* stage. All this takes place, significantly, on holy ground, during religious festivals such as ordination, threatening the privacy even of the religious sphere.

Ban Semerak with its social environment. On the basis of a reinforced and unassailable identity in the religious sector, for instance, such a community may certainly become accessible to the more reassuring kinds of opportunity for political participation and political identification as 'Malaysians'. But this would be essentially on the basis of separateness in a system whose political dynamics and terms of reference are anyway defined by 'universal ethnic incorporation': the allocation of political statuses and national membership by prior reference to ethnic group.

This line of thinking stems of course from two sources. On the one hand there is my experience of an isolated Thai community which, while profoundly assimilated in many unconscious ways, is ill-equipped to handle the new, sudden pressures of economic and political modernization, and thus responds with relatively pronounced defensiveness and alienation. On the other hand, I am simply looking at the data as a political scientist. It is clear that the 'ethnic boundary' approach and Golomb's findings at Ban Sadang combine to produce a challenging standpoint from which to re-examine (as I have just done) the situation at Semerak, or any Kelantan Thai village for that matter; but at the same time, attention to the Semerak example, combined with a more political perspective than Golomb has employed, may help to pick out and illuminate unsuspected strands in the social web of Ban Sadang. Even in the midst of a high degree of economic complementarity, cultural security and underlying assimilatory trends, political integration is not guaranteed. On the other hand if directly political pressures become too menacing—if politics threatens culture—the fine cultural and economic symbiosis evolved over generations could founder.¹⁷

In this light the possible disadvantage of an exclusively social anthropological approach becomes apparent. I do not suggest that Golomb should have doubled the length of a book whose strength consists not least in its compactness and precision, just in order to write about Kelantan politics as well! But it is a really **remarkable** Kelantan book which contrives never once to mention the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) and the Malaysian federal structure in which that party has flourished on a regional basis.¹⁸

17. Thus I question whether assimilation is necessarily a unilinear process. Golomb himself claims (p 115) that there were many more Thai marriages with Malays over 40 years ago than in the last 40 years. If that is true, the Thais would seem to be less convergent with the Malays now, in one sense, than in the past; though admittedly the essence of Golomb's thesis (with which I agree) is that good boundaries are not incompatible with underlying assimilation. It may not be a point worth pursuing because Golomb's only evidence for frequent intermarriage in the distant past is the occurrence of the patrilineal prefix 'che' in the next-door Malay village. (I must confess to being unaware that this denotes descent from a convert, as Golomb states, and am not able either to contradict or confirm it.)

18. It is a pity, too, that in mentioning the portraits of the 'Malay King and Queen' hung side by side with the portraits of Thai royalty in Thai houses (p 28), Golomb should employ such an opaque usage and not say whether he means the Sultan of Kelantan or the King of Malaysia, or both, and if both, what proportion of the portraits fell to either monarch. This lack of alertness to political nuances comes out again, more seriously, where it is suggested (p 211, n 29) that the Thais may have failed to obtain gun licences because the 'Malaysian authorities may still doubt their loyalty to the Malaysian nation'. The difficulty about gun licences is general, I agree, throughout the community (though I do know of a licence held formerly at Yung Kaw), but does it not arise rather from the Thais' close alignment with the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) and their consequent exclusion from the patronage of the PMIP-dominated administration? (In this connection I must take my distance from the statement—p 13—that only a handful of Thais align with UMNO! But I do concur with the well-substantiated judgement that modern Thailand has, at the moment, little political relevance at least to the more isolated Kelantan Thais.)

As it happens, the PMIP, latterly known as Partai Islam, has been 'tamed' in recent years by incorporation into the ruling National Front of Malaysia, but now it is in opposition again (though not in power in the Kelantan State government) and Malaysian politics remains unstable. The Malays of Malaysia are involved in their own profound crisis of culture and identity, as they weigh the rival options of Western-style secularization and 're-Islamization'. Social and economic modernization seem imperative as a basis of secure Malay political power against the Chinese, and to forestall a general crisis of poverty among the Malay masses. The Malays reject the strategy of the economic niche. But if it is not stoutly resisted, the revolution of values which modernization brings in its tow would undermine the Islamic commitment which provides the Malays with their most potent ethnic boundary-markers and instruments of social control and general solidarity-making. There is much scope here for a PMIP revival and an acceleration of political alienation among the Malaysian Chinese due to economic discrimination as well as cultural pressures. Some reverberations of national political developments will reach the Kelantan Thais through their Chinese co-religionists, patrons and kinsmen. Others will be felt directly at the village level in relations with the Kelantan Malay community. For a political scientist to sketch a broadly pessimistic scenario for the future might be an act of self-indulgence, yet as national communications and national conflicts impinge increasingly on rural society it is well to remember that Malaysia's politics, like its cultures, is in flux.

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Das Heilige Bildnis: Skulpturen aus Thailand
The Sacred Image: Sculptures from Thailand

by Piriya Krairiksh; photographs by Brian Brake

produced for the exhibition organized by the Museum for East-Asian Art of the City of Cologne, in collaboration with the Department of Fine Arts and the National Museum, Bangkok, 1979-1980

in German and English; Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Museen der Stadt Köln, 1979; 247 pp., illus.

At the beginning of the book there is a mention of HM the King of Thailand and HE the President of the Federal Republic of Germany as patrons of the exhibition, followed by the names of the Honorary Committee and the Working Committee. Then come three prefaces: the first is by the Director-General of the Fine Arts Department of Thailand, who introduces this travelling exhibition. The second preface is by Mrs. Chira Chongkol, Director of Thai National Museums. It comes as rather a surprise that Mrs. Chongkol states that every sculpture in this exhibition belongs to the National Museums system of Thailand except a single piece which has graciously been lent by HM the King. One sculpture (no. 53) belongs to the James Thompson private collection and has been totally ignored. Although Mrs. Chongkol writes as if she agrees with Dr. Krairiksh's opinion in classifying the visual arts in Thailand into four groups, namely that in southern Thailand, the Mon, the Khmer and the Thai arts, finally she acknowledges that Thai people "shared in the artistic endeavours of the people [in Thailand] throughout all periods". The final preface is by Dr. Roger Goepper, the Director of the Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne, who supervised the arrangements for this travelling Thai exhibition in West Germany. Dr. Goepper refers to the last Thai art exhibition in Germany in 1963, and does not thank the James Thompson collection for its loan. He expresses approval of the new categorization of Thai art into four groups by Dr. Krairiksh.

Then follows the introduction by Dr. Krairiksh on the "Sacred Image" theme, in which he explains the principles of Buddhism and the acquisition of merit in having Buddha images created. Dr. Krairiksh describes the history of Buddha and Hindu images in Thailand, the latter being fewer in number. He goes on to say that "a prime example [in creating a Buddha image] is the ceremony to invite the spirit of the Buddha to reside in the new image. Once an image is invested with an inner life, it acquires a character or identity of its own." (Here Dr. Krairiksh should have also explained that the miracles performed by a Buddha image or a *stūpa* according to the old Thai tradition occurred through divinities guarding that Buddha image or *stūpa* but not by the Buddha himself nor by his relics.) Later Dr. Krairiksh explains how the Buddha image should properly be worshipped.

The subsequent section is on "charms and amulets" and the "image-making" process which involves the pseudoscience of astrology. The writer also comments on the difference between Buddha images made for the tourist trade and for worship. Then arrives the "aesthetic aspects" and the creation of Buddha images which depends on the wish of the owner or the vogue of the period.

Lastly Dr. Krairiksh refers to his previously published recategorization of the visual arts in Thailand into four groups, as mentioned above, which follow geographical and ethnic lines. In "A summary of sculptural styles in Thailand", Dr. Krairiksh describes the four geographical divisions of Thailand: the central, the northern, the northeastern and the southern parts.

In the central part, there were three successive civilizations: Mon, Khmer and Thai. The Mon culture developed because of agriculture and overseas trade from about the sixth to the tenth century A.D. The Khmer which had lived around the Tonle Sap ('Great Lake') in Cambodia expanded its power into present-day Thailand around the middle of the tenth century, and in the beginning of the eleventh century controlled the central part of Thailand with the town of Lop Buri as their centre. The Thai, who began to make their appearance in inscriptions about the middle of the eleventh century, proclaimed their independence at the town of Sukhothai in the middle of the thirteenth century. The kingdom of Ayutthaya was founded in A.D. 1350, and later on expanded its power to cover the whole of Thailand.

In the northern part of Thailand the mountains had been inhabited by the Lawā people and other mountain tribes. Later on the Mon people from Lop Buri migrated to found the Haripuñjaya kingdom at the town of Lamphun. Inscriptions show that the Mon kingdom at Lamphun prospered from the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century and was outside the Khmer political orbit. The Thai people moved south from southeastern China and declared their independence in the upper tributaries of the Chao Phraya River: the Ping, Wang, Yom and Nan. The Lān Nā (northern Thai) kingdom was set up in the late thirteenth century, and was destroyed by the Burmese in 1556.

In the northeastern part of Thailand there are two important rivers, the Chi and the Mun. Dr. Krairiksh expounds that the junction of the Chi and the Mun had been the cradle of the Khmer people who later on moved down south and settled along the northern shore of the Great Lake in Cambodia. They usually dug reservoirs for their irrigation. Later on they moved north and in the middle of the tenth century replaced the Mon in the Chi valley (**an opinion which still requires evidence to support**). The Khmer successively expanded their power up the Mekong River until they could subjugate the Thai on the upper valley of that river.

The Ayutthayan kingdom was able to capture Angkor, the capital of the Khmer empire, twice during the second half of the fourteenth century. In 1431 it was captured again. The Khmer then migrated to the south of the Great Lake and founded Phnom Penh as their capital. (**In reality they stopped at Phnom Penh for a short while and then moved on to Lovek.**)

In referring to southern or Peninsular Thailand Dr. Krairiksh means the area south of the

Isthmus of Kra on the Malay Peninsula where the original population were Mon, Khmer and Proto-Malay (**the Mon and Khmer are still rather doubtful**). The most prosperous period of this area fell between the sixth century A.D. down to the late thirteenth century. This part later on became the vassal state of the Sukhothai and Ayutthaya kingdoms, and the local population began to intermarry with the Thai people.

On a basis as summarized above, Dr. Krairiksh divides the arts in Thailand into the following categories :

Peninsular styles :

south 4th to 13th century A.D.

Mon styles:

centre 6th to 10th century A.D.

northeast 8th to 10th century A.D.

north 10th to 13th century A.D.

Khmer styles:

northeast 6th to 14th century A.D.

centre 10th to 13th century A.D.

Thai styles:

Lān Nā (north) 13th to 19th century A.D.

Sukhothai (north-centre) 13th to 15th century A.D.

Lop Buri (centre) 13th to 14th century A.D.

Suphan Buri-Sankhaburi 13th to 14th century A.D.

(west-centre)

Ayutthaya (centre) 14th to 18th century A.D.

Ratanakosin (centre) 18th century to the present

One can perceive that in this classification, Dr. Krairiksh has modified his former opinions as expressed in the book entitled *Art Styles in Thailand, a Selection from National Provincial Museums*, published in 1977 and reviewed by Professor H.G. Quaritch Wales and this reviewer in the *Journal of the Siam Society* (vol. 66 pt.2, July 1978). He has adopted under Thai styles the Lop Buri and Suphan Buri-Sankhaburi schools, the latter being equivalent to the former U Thong art style.

Next comes the description of each artistic group, beginning with 'Peninsular styles' in southern Thailand. Dr. Krairiksh postulates that the earliest Indian artistic influence began in southern Thailand and then expanded to central Thailand and southern Cambodia. (**It is rather surprising that here Dr. Krairiksh compares the Buddhist votive tablet found in a cave at Krabi Province with the bronze Buddha image discovered at Sungai Kolok, Narathiwat, although the Buddha on the votive tablet wears a monastic dress in the Gupta style [4th - 6th century] and the bronze Buddha that of Amarāvati art [2nd - 4th century].**) Dr. Krairiksh observes that artistic influence from India in southern Thailand came from both the southern and central parts of India. The latter belongs to Gupta art from Sārnāth but from about the middle of the seventh to the twelfth century the successive influences of the Mon, Pāla and Cham arts

appeared. This period can be classified as the second phase of the Peninsular styles, and at Chaiya or Grāhi in southern Thailand there appeared these three continuing art forms. **(It is here not clearly convincing why Dr. Krairiksh classifies the image of Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva [fig. 5] which is sparsely decorated to post date to the statue of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva which is more profusely decorated and was discovered at Wat Phra Baromathat, Chaiya. Dr. Krairiksh places the Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva [fig. 5] in the second artistic period of Chaiya, and dates the image about the beginning of the ninth century.)** As for the Cham influence Dr. Krairiksh cites as an example the clay Buddha image seated in European style with legs hanging down at Wat Tham Kuha, Kanchanadit District, Surat Thani Province.

The third phase of the Peninsular styles at Chaiya is characterized by the bronze Buddha image subduing Māra under Nāga of Grāhi which according to Dr. Krairiksh shows the combination of the Mon, Khmer, Pāla and local arts. **(For this Buddha image the reviewer can only detect the Khmer art mixed with the local style.)** This art form persisted at Chaiya though after it had been amalgamated into the Sukhothai kingdom in the early fourteenth century.

Apart from Chaiya Dr. Krairiksh says that other sites in southern Thailand produced only few *objets d'art* such as images of the four-armed Vishṇu wearing a cylindrical hat, which can be divided into three groups. **(Here the reviewer would like to express his opinion that the images of Vishṇu wearing a diagonal cloth/scarf over the thigh is probably earlier than those wearing a horizontal one, as the former resemble more the Indian prototype.)** Sites in such areas as Phunphin District in Surat Thani on the Bay of Ban Don probably date from the sixth to eighth century.

Dr. Piriya expounds that the town of Nakhon Si Thammarat also produced ancient art objects, such as the image of Vishṇu holding a conch on the left hip like that at Chaiya which dates to about the fifth century. At Tha Sala District a Vishṇu image resembling the Harihara image of the Funan kingdom was also discovered and probably dates to the same period of the sixth century. **(Here it should be added that Professor Wales, basing his theory on the excavations and ceramics found at Nakhon Si Thammarat, holds the idea that this town does not antedate the eleventh century and that the earlier sculptures were probably removed from some other sites.)** Dr. Krairiksh also believes that the inscription no. 23 which is considered to have come from Wat Sema Muang, Nakhon Si Thammarat really came from that site, and expresses his surprise that no Buddhist sculptures in the art style that he groups as the second phase of Chaiya between the eighth and ninth century were ever discovered at Nakhon Si Thammarat. **(If Dr. Krairiksh believes like certain other Thai that this inscription might have originated from Chaiya, his surprise then might be unnecessary.)** Dr. Krairiksh also refers to Sathing Phra District in the Province of Songkhla (Singora) where there exist sculptures in Mahāyāna Buddhism which resemble strongly Javanese art from the eighth to the tenth century. **(On this point Professor Wales has also the same opinion that the town of Sathing Phra probably developed in the eleventh century and that the small bronze sculptures discovered there were brought from some earlier sites.)**

Apart from the above-mentioned sculptures there are still foreign sculptures or imitations of foreign arts in southern Thailand such as the images of Vishṇu and his two attendants at

Takua Pa which show the Indian Pallava influence of the ninth century and those of Chola art in the tenth to eleventh century.

For this section the reviewer agrees with Dr. Krairiksh in using the epithet 'Peninsular styles', if he refers to all the arts discovered in southern Thailand. The reviewer however disagrees with Dr. Krairiksh when he writes at the end of this section that the word Śrīvijayan art is inappropriate because it has been used only for the Mahāyāna Buddhist art in southern Thailand from the seventh to the thirteenth century. The reviewer has already pointed out several times that the word Śrīvijayan art has been used to cover the antiquities in both Buddhism and Hinduism discovered in southern Thailand when the kingdom of Śrīvijaya was still in power.

Mon art. Dr. Krairiksh explains that since it has not been known for certain where the centre of the Dvāravatī kingdom was in central Thailand (it has now been more or less accepted that the centre was probably at the old town of Nakhon Pathom, east of Phra Pathom Chedi) and since its history has not been well understood either, it is more appropriate to change the name of 'Dvāravatī' art into 'Mon styles' in order to cover all the arts of the same characteristics and produced at various sites in Thailand from the sixth to the tenth century. (This reviewer thinks it should be extended down to the eleventh century.) Dr. Krairiksh believes that there were many independent Mon states in Thailand, and that the apex of Mon art in central Thailand was probably between the seventh and eighth century. He refers to the stone Wheel of the Law in Dvāravatī art and explains that the designs carved on the middle of their rim can be divided into six styles, the earliest one being the nearest to Indian art. Then Dr. Krairiksh classifies the characteristics of Mon Buddha images into the three styles of Lop Buri, of Nakhon Pathom and of U Thong (which should be checked for appropriateness). He then mentions the Vishṇu images in Mon art such as those found at Dong Si Maha Phot, Prachin Buri, eastern Thailand. (These Hindu images the reviewer always classifies apart from Dvāravatī art, as their facial features do not at all resemble the middle phase of the Mon Buddha images which show native characteristics.)

Dr. Krairiksh says that at about the end of the eighth century Mon art in central Thailand declined, but early in the eighth century Mon art appeared at Si Thep and Sukhothai. (The latter site is very doubtful, although two large stone Dvāravatī Buddha images have been there found; they might have been moved up from central Thailand during the Sukhothai period.) Mon art also spread to northeastern Thailand.

In the ninth century the Chi valley in northeastern Thailand fell under Mon cultural influence. The best known sculptures are from Muang Fa Daed in Kalasin Province. About the early tenth century Mon cultural influence in northeastern Thailand began to be replaced by that of the Khmer civilization. At the end of the tenth century the whole of northeastern Thailand was dominated both politically and culturally by the Khmers.

In central Thailand ancient Mon cultural centres such as at U Thong were abandoned. Some sites such as Lop Buri became Khmer centres. In the early eleventh century the Mon lost central Thailand to the Khmer, and limited themselves at the town of Lamphun in the Haripuñjaya kingdom in northern Thailand which became the centre of Mon culture in

Thailand for 200 years afterwards. This is the last period of the Mon before Thai political domination. Haripuñjayan art is a combination of the late Mon artistic expressions from central and northeastern Thailand, with some influences of the Pāla art from northeastern India.

Though this reviewer agrees with Dr. Krairiksh in many respects concerning the Mon period, he disagrees with the latter in changing the name of 'Dvāravatī art' into 'Mon art' as he can see no advantage in making such a change. Moreover the reviewer thinks that the dates of the Mon (Dvāravatī) art attributed by Dr. Krairiksh to various sites in Thailand are also of too early and too short a period.

Khmer art. Dr. Krairiksh begins by describing Khmer art in Cambodia, and cites the division of the Khmer art into many styles by Professor Jean Boisselier which can be used with the chronology of Khmer art in Thailand. He then refers to sculptures at Si Thep which fell under the Khmer empire from about the end of the sixth century, and says that Vishṇu images at Si Thep in northern central Thailand resemble more the Vishṇu statues of Khmer pre-Angkorian period than in the Mon art. **(Here one must not forget that at Si Thep have been discovered a large stone Wheel of the Law and Dvāravatī [Mon] Buddha images. Therefore if one will use the ethnic definition of Dr. Krairiksh, one has to refer to the Mon-Khmer or Khmer-Mon art and probably soon will follow the Indian-Mon, Indian-Khmer and Mon-Thai styles.)**

Dr. Krairiksh follows with Khmer statues of different periods found in Thailand: (a) from about the early eighth to the early ninth century, bronze images in Kompong Preah style in northeastern Thailand; (b) from the early ninth to the middle of the tenth century, the Khmer influence became stronger and many Khmer statues dating back to the early tenth century have been found in northeastern Thailand; (c) during the Khmer art of Khleang style (c. 965-1010) and that of Baphuon (c. 1010-1080) many Khmer images also appeared in the same area. Dr. Krairiksh mentions the Phimai temple which dates back to the early twelfth century and explains that here originated the Khmer crowned Buddha image. Most of the Khmer sculptures discovered in Thailand of this Angkor Wat period (1100-1175) are of bronze. The most important finds are five stone torsos of divinities unearthed at Ta Pha Daeng shrine in the old town of Sukhothai, which Dr. Krairiksh says are the combination of the Khmer Angkor Wat and the Bayon styles (the latter dating from c. 1177 to 1230). Then he continues with the Khmer Bayon style during the time of Jayavarman VII, the last great monarch of the Khmer empire.

At the end of this section, Dr. Krairiksh explains his disagreement with calling the Khmer art in Thailand during this period 'Lop Buri art' and to date it between the seventh and the fourteenth century, because it will be confused with the Mon art at the town of Lop Buri from the seventh to the tenth century. On this point the reviewer agrees if the Khmer antiquities found in Thailand will be termed as 'Khmer art in Thailand' and if it is also accepted that there exist certain discrepancies between it and 'Khmer art in Cambodia'. However this reviewer disagrees with certain datings of Khmer sculptures in Thailand in this catalogue by Dr. Krairiksh. This will be explained when we arrive at the pictures at the end of the catalogue.

Thai styles. Dr. Krairiksh subdivides 'Thai art' styles, beginning with Lān Nā art. He

explains that the early Lān Nā art or northern Thai style received influences from the Indian Pāla-Sena style and Khmer art from central Thailand. Then it was divided into two groups: that of early Chiang Saen and that of later Chiang Saen or Chiang Mai. Dr. Krairiksh disbelieves that the early Chiang Saen Buddha images date back to the eleventh century. According to him they probably originated from about the end of the thirteenth century and the late Chiang Saen Buddha statues would begin around the fifteenth century. He believes that the Sukhothai influence on Lān Nā art probably travelled northward at the same time as the arrival of Pra Sumana Thera, a Buddhist monk, at the town of Lamphun in 1369 and when King Tiloka of Chiang Mai captured the town of Sawankhalok in 1460. After the Burmese army had taken the town of Chiang Mai in 1556, Lān Nā art declined. Bronze sculptures gave way to wooden images. Although there was a revival of Lān Nā art in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the former religious zeal had already disappeared.

Dr. Krairiksh disbelieves that the town of Chiang Saen has ever been an important town in northern Thailand. According to him the important northern centre in Thailand is probably Chiang Mai, as Chiang Saen was only founded in 1327 and became the centre of art production only in the fifteenth century. Therefore he uses the term Lān Nā art to cover all the styles in northern Thailand before the land became amalgamated with the rest of the country in 1897. **(Now it is believed, following the newly deciphered Sukhothai inscription no. 2, that the realm of King Si Nao Nam Thom of Sukhothai, the father of King Pha Muang, expanded in the north to the town of Chiang Saen. The town, therefore, should have already existed at least from the middle of the thirteenth century.)**

Sukhothai art. Dr. Krairiksh agrees that early Sukhothai art was influenced by the early Chiang Saen style. Apart from this mixed style, which is exemplified in the 'Wat Ta Kuan group', there are three others which are the 'general group', the Kamphaeng Phet and the Phra Buddha Jinnārāja schools. For these four groups Dr. Krairiksh believes that only the Phra Buddha Jinnārāja school can be classified for certain. The other three groups have either too few specimens or too many, the last category being the general group. **(It is sincerely hoped that one day Dr. Krairiksh might be able to accomplish a better classification of Sukhothai art.)** He further says that at the present time the dating of Sukhothai Buddha images cannot be known for certain. He then discusses the seated, reclining, standing and walking Buddha images in Sukhothai art as well as Hindu images and Sangkhalok (Sawankhalok) ware. Sukhothai art also influenced the late Lān Nā and Ayutthayan styles, and the Sukhothai esthetic has since become very popular.

Lop Buri art. Dr. Krairiksh explains what he means by the term Lop Buri art, which is the art at the town of Lop Buri and at other Khmer sites in Thailand which shows Khmer influence and was produced during the transitional period between the decline of Khmer art in Thailand, from about 1230 to the development of Ayutthayan art. Buddha images of Lop Buri art reflect the influence of the Khmer Bayon style. One of the characteristics is to wear the monastic dress, but also wearing a diadem. The *ushnisha* (cranial protuberance) is decorated with superimposed lotus petals. Another characteristic is a leaf-shaped diadem which derived from the Indian Pāla school. The attitude of subduing Māra replaced that of meditation.

In the opinion of this reviewer, Dr. Krairiksh's consideration of Lop Buri art as part of Khmer art in Thailand, by acceptance of some differences between Khmer art produced in Cambodia and Lop Buri art which bears more than local influence, might be acceptable at least during this present period.

Suphan Buri-Sankhaburi art. This term is used by Dr. Krairiksh as a substitute for the former U Thong designation. He explains that since Buddha images of the first phase of U Thong style which show the mixture of Mon and Khmer influences were mostly found in the Province of Suphan Buri, he prefers to use the term Suphan Buri art for this group of Buddha statues. As for those of the second phase which display strong Khmer characteristics and have a flame-like halo on top of the head, their provenance is mostly from the town of Sankhaburi. Therefore the term Sankhaburi art is preferred for this group. **(In the opinion of this reviewer, these two provenances should be checked first whether they really produced most of the U Thong Buddha images of the first and second groups.)** As for the U Thong Buddha images of the third group which reveal Sukhothai influence, Dr. Krairiksh thinks that since they were produced during the Ayutthayan period, they need not have a separate name. **(One should, however, be reminded that this last group also possesses the permanent characteristics of the U Thong style: a small band on the forehead and a base that curves inward.)**

This division of Dr. Krairiksh is totally different from what he outlined in *Art Styles in Thailand* in 1977. In that volume Dr. Krairiksh included the total U Thong style with Ayutthayan art, and the reviewer has already expressed his disagreement in the *Journal of the Siam Society*, volume 66, part 2. Dr. Krairiksh has since changed his classification, in what might be a suitable compromise.

Ayutthayan art. For Ayutthaya-period art, Dr. Krairiksh has followed the former division of Ayutthayan artistic expression into four or three periods. The reviewer therefore omits a review of this section.

Ratanakosin, or Bangkok art. For Bangkok art Dr. Krairiksh shares the same ideas as former writers; so the reviewer chooses not to discuss this section. Dr. Krairiksh writes that "with the acceptance of Western ideas and technology around the middle of the nineteenth century A.D., the inspiration of traditional religious art died. Western materialism was not the cause of its death—the origins may be found in the decline of religion during the last phase of the Ayutthayan kingdom. However hard the early Chakri kings may have tried to revive the religion among the people and in the arts, they could only resurrect its outward appearance. The fervour that had once motivated the creative spirit had long since dissipated." **(This statement might contain some truth, but is probably not entirely true.)**

After this section there are a coloured plan defining the dates of various art styles at different sites in Thailand, a map of Thailand and 17 coloured pictures. Then follow the black-and-

white photographs of the exhibited sculptures accompanied by individual descriptions. Here the reviewer mentions only those examples with which he disagrees or to which he would like to add some information.

Figure 1. Dr. Krairiksh explains that Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva means the "lord who looks down from above", but certain scholars such as Mlle. de Mallmann defines him as "the luminous lord". Dr. Krairiksh also says that this bronze image is the earliest sculpture of Avalokiteśvara in Thailand. The reviewer is not so sure about this statement, and the date given by Dr. Krairiksh, i.e. late sixth century A.D., might be too early. What he describes as *yajñopavīta* (a sacred thread) might be simply a shawl.

Figure 2. The period of late in the sixth century A.D. is probably too early a dating. Although this image resembles the stone statue of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva in the Sārnāth Museum in India, the latter does not possess such a high chignon.

Figure 3. The date of this stone Buddha image is probably later than the sixth century A.D.

Figure 4. This image, if it indeed evolves from the statue of Vishṇu with the hands on the hips, should also be later than the sixth century A.D.

Figure 5. It is difficult to understand why Dr. Krairiksh dates this image to early in the ninth century A.D., because the ornaments are still very few in number. If one compares this image to figure 8 which wears full ornaments and is dated by Dr. Krairiksh to the tenth century A.D., one notices a vast difference. The reviewer thinks that this figure 5 might date back to the seventh or eighth century when the Indian Gupta style was amalgamated with the local elements. It is also hard to understand what Dr. Krairiksh means in stating that "the Chaiya style is distinguished by the preference for enrobing the Buddha in a *sarong* instead of the *dhoṭī*". A look into his glossary at the end of the book shows that the meanings of the two words are more or less the same.

Figure 7. In *Art Styles in Thailand* Dr. Krairiksh dates this image to the twelfth century A.D. and the reviewer has objected to his dating by saying that this image should be dated around the fourth or fifth century because it shows the mixture of Indian Amarāvātī and Gupta styles. Now Dr. Krairiksh has stepped up the date of this image to the ninth century A.D. which is preferable to the first dating.

Figure 9. The reviewer disagrees with the grouping of the image of Vishṇu wearing a cylindrical hat with Dvāravātī or Mon art as mentioned above, though sometimes the two types of statues have been found in the same area. This figure 9, Dr. Krairiksh says, appears to be the latest in the series of 'group A' wearing a horizontal scarf; therefore the date should be later than the seventh century A.D.

Figure 10. It was formerly believed that this tray was made of clay, and therefore could have been a toilet set. Now it is considered to be of stone, so it could have been a tray for foundation deposits as Dr. Krairiksh has suggested. In either case the reviewer disagrees with him in the interpretation of the carved scene as the Churning of the Milk Ocean. The reviewer thinks it only means fecundity and prosperity. For the pot with the cord decoration in the

centre need not be a nectar receptacle, as an Indian *pūrṇaḥaṭa* (pot of prosperity) is always ornamented with such a design. Moreover, what Dr. Krairiksh describes as a turtle is in reality a fish as evinced by its tail, fin and scales, especially in the example on the right of the tray. Śrī, the goddess of fortune seated on top of the blooming lotus, has already a characteristic Dvāravatī face. This tray, therefore, should be dated around the eighth to ninth century, rather than the seventh.

Figure 11. This stone Wheel of the Law is carved with a design totally different from that of the Indian Gupta and post-Gupta styles, *viz.* a lozenge intersected with a floral motif and short, curled foliage. Therefore its date does not belong late in the seventh century A.D., but should be the eighth or the ninth.

Figure 12. This terracotta head should be compared to the face of Umā in the large figure of Maheśvaramurti on the island of Elephanta in India, from the early post-Gupta style (about sixth century A.D.), as both are wearing the same type of short pendants in their hair.

Figure 13. This stone standing Buddha has already a characteristic Dvāravatī face and is also standing erect. Therefore its date should be about the eighth century.

Figure 14. The reviewer thinks this stucco scene should belong to the eighth or ninth century A.D.

Figure 15. This terracotta image should also be dated around the eighth or ninth century A.D. It should also be explained that the attitude of meditation by placing the left hand over the right one is wrong, which might have originated from the fault in the carving of the mould.

Figure 16. This image should also be dated around the ninth to tenth century A.D.

Figure 21. Since a large stone Wheel of the Law and a stone Dvāravatī Buddha image have also been discovered at the town of Si Thep, the sculptures at Si Thep if classified after Dr. Krairiksh's new scheme should have been termed Mon-Khmer or Khmer-Mon style.

Figure 22. It is not comprehensible why Dr. Krairiksh should say that this image is wearing a *sambāt* or *sampot*. The garment is in reality a short piece of cloth wrapped around the body and tied with a plain cord in an ascetic manner.

Figure 24. At its back this image has the end of the robe tucked in the form of a butterfly motif. Therefore it should be considered in the Khmer Baphuon style (c. 11th century A.D.)

Figure 26. As this small bronze image has a long piece of cloth hanging in front of the body and was discovered at Phimai temple, its date should belong to the early Khmer Angkor Wat style, not to the Baphuon. Dr. Krairiksh has moreover dated it to early in the twelfth century A.D., which is the transitional period between the Baphuon and Angkor Wat styles.

Figure 27. This image should also belong to the late Baphuon style or the early Angkor Wat period.

Figure 29. The reviewer totally disagrees with Dr. Krairiksh in classifying this stone Buddha image as "Khmer: Bayon period, Angkor Wat style" as that would create great con-

fusion in spite of the clear definitions by French scholars of Khmer art styles. The reviewer thinks that though the image belongs to the transitional period, if it still retains many Angkor Wat characteristics it should be classified as late Angkor Wat style. If the Bayon characteristics are more evident, then it should be termed early Bayon style. But the two names should not be conjoined in coining a different style.

The Buddha sat down to meditate and the Nāga Muchalinda came up to protect him from the rain after the Buddha had attained his Enlightenment for 35 days, not 42 days.

Figure 30. This stone torso of a goddess belongs to the late Angkor Wat style instead of "Bayon period, Angkor Wat style". The reviewer cannot accept the statement of Dr. Krairiksh that an image with a presumed likeness of Jayavarman VII has been found at Sukhothai. If he means a stone sculpture that was discovered at Wat Phra Pai Luang and is now preserved in the Ram Kamhaeng National Museum, that statue is a Buddha image in meditation unlike the portrait of Jayavarman VII such as the one found at Phimai.

Figure 36. The reviewer thinks that this bronze Buddha Haripuñjaya Bodhisattva was made later than late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century A.D. as dated by Dr. Krairiksh. Although the statue displays the Indian Pāla influence, it is quite far removed from its prototype in such details as the flame-like halo which derives from the Sukhothai style, the difference of the design on the diadem and especially the stylized cloth motif on both sides of the ears. This reviewer would prefer to date it between the fifteenth and sixteenth century.

Figure 41. According to the chronicle by Luang Prasert, the most reliable for the Ayutthayan period, the Burmese army attacked Ayutthaya for the first time in 1548, not in 1558, and the event did not concern the request for the albino elephants. The demand for such elephants occurred later on. It might also be worth suggesting that the pot on the elephant's back could be a receptacle for the Buddha's relics.

Figure 48. This reviewer thinks that Umā wears two pieces of cloth. The frontal one has the upper end inserted underneath the jewelled belt and then hangs down over it. The lower end is divided into two parts, each part hanging down over each leg in a zigzag design. It is presumably not a cloth belt.

Figure 49. The inverted lotus-bud earrings of this temple guardian can be reckoned as having derived from Khmer art.

Figure 53. It should also be explained that the diadem, earrings and the monastic dress of this crowned Buddha image derived from Indian Pāla art, through the Khmer Bayon style.

Figure 54. Could the lifted index finger of the left hand of the Buddha have evolved from the stylized small bowl that the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru ('Buddha the Healer') holds in his hand in examples in the Khmer Bayon style?

Figure 56. This gold repoussé of the standing Buddha was found in the crypt of the main *prang* of Wat Ratchaburana which was built at Ayutthaya in 1424. Could this image have thus been made in the early fifteenth century, as quite a few of such examples have been found

nad King Borom Rachathirat II, the founder of Wat Ratchaburana, was also originally a native of the town of Suphan Buri?

Figure 58. The reviewer is not sure whether this stone head should belong to the early or late Ayutthayan style, the latter being probably late in the seventeenth century. Phra Ramesuan was sent by his father, King Ramathibodi I, to rule at the town of Lop Buri probably to protect the town against the Khmer empire rather than against the Sukhothai kingdom.

Figure 64. On the left of the pedestal of this Buddha image, the chief of Māra (evil spirits) might have already been converted into Buddhism as portrayed in some Thai mural paintings. Here the elephant of the king of Māra is lifting his trunk to the Buddha in the act of worship. This scene is also explained as a personification of the fighting in the mind of the Buddha whether he would go back to worldly pleasures or to continue his meditation until he would attain Enlightenment. At last he resolved to perform the latter act by pressing his right hand on his right knee.

Figure 65. It should be also explained that the dress of this bronze Lakshmī evolved from the dress of the Sukhothai bronze Hindu images. Dr. Krairiksh reports that this image wears "a belt with a double pendant", although such an appurtenance is simply not evident.

Figure 67. It should be mentioned that the two protruding parts above the ears are typical characteristics of the Ayutthayan crowned Buddha image.

Figure 70. Sometimes a Buddha image has a nine-tiered umbrella over his head, such as in the *ubosoth* of Wat Bovorn Nivet in Bangkok, because he is regarded as the Dharmarājā (King of the Law).

Figure 71. In his book *Art Styles in Thailand*, Dr. Krairiksh classified this image as belonging to the Ayutthayan style. This reviewer has objected. Now he has reassigned it to the Bangkok style, which concurs with the opinion of this reviewer.

Then follows the appendix on the consecration of a Thai Buddha image which is none other than the Buddha Paramāsayo of the grandfather of Dr. Krairiksh himself in 1917. This article describes in detail the ceremonial consecration of the Buddha image. Dr. Krairiksh fails to mention whether any ceremony was performed during the modelling of the Paramāsayo in wax.

Then come the drawings on various postures of sculptures, headgear, attitudes, attributes and the various modes of wearing a Buddhist monastic dress. After this section follows the glossary which unfortunately contains some errors such as Indra, lord of the 33 heavens and the Pāla as the Indian dynasty which ruled in northeastern India from the mid-eighth till the end of the ninth century. On page 148, figure 36, of the same book it is written "Indian art of

the Pāla-Sena period (mid-8th to late 12th centuries A.D.)". In *The Art of India* by C. Sivaramamurti, on page 559, Pāla art is defined as extending from 765 to 1175 A.D., and the Sena from 1095 to 1206 A.D. The Khmer word *sambāt* (*sampot*) should be explained in greater detail, and *trimūrtti* is probably misprinted. For *vajrāsana* the reviewer is not sure whether the word 'folded' or 'crossed' should be used.

At the end of the book there is a bibliography of both foreign and Thai books. The writer's acknowledgements appear, followed by the writer's biography and the contents of the book.

In short, in spite of some differences between the author and the reviewer and a few errors, this catalogue is still very useful in expanding the knowledge of history of art in Thailand to foreigners, and will make Thailand better known to the general public.

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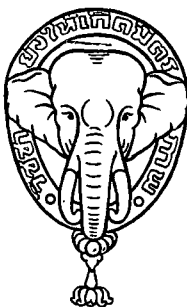
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JOURNAL OF THE SIAM SOCIETY

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July 1980

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ISLAMIC REFORMISM IN THAILAND

by

RAYMOND SCUPIN*

Islam in Thailand has developed in historical and cultural conditions which have produced a complex and unique religious heritage. Most scholars agree that prior to the arrival of the great traditions of either Hinduism, Buddhism, or Islam into southeast Asia, the dominant religious system consisted of an indigenous spiritualism or animism. When the great traditions filtered in they were acceptable to southeast Asians only insofar as they were able to incorporate the older religious concepts and existing practices.¹ When Islam entered southeast Asia it too had to compromise its basic principles and allow for a certain degree of syncretism. This was not a wholly new pattern because Muslims, since the time of the Prophet Muhammad, have always been content with nominal 'Islamization' in any new region. This traditional Muslim policy resulted in the continuance of many indigenous religious practices and beliefs which at times were considered as being part of Islam itself.

Several anthropological studies of Muslims in rural Thailand have confirmed the basic syncretic quality of Islam in villages.² This syncretized Islam or 'folk Islam' takes two distinctive forms in Thailand depending upon specific sociocultural locale. In the southern, culturally Malay provinces of Thailand, Islam coexists with an indigenous Malay supernaturalism. In the villages of this area non-Islamic Malay spiritual practices are conjoined with traditional Islamic ritual practices. In contrast, in the rural areas where Thai Buddhists are the majority population and Muslims are the minority, Islam coexists with the well-known *phii* worship or animism of mainland southeast Asia. These different varieties of folk Islam are found to be well institutionalized and having a pervasive effect on village affairs. Presumably one reason for the popularity of folk Islam is that its values and beliefs directly impinge upon the individual villager's daily life. While the orthodox great tradition of Islam, which is based upon complex legalistic, scriptural doctrines, is incomprehensible to most illiterate rural farmers, folk Islam is both directly appealing and tangible.

The form of Islam existing in Bangkok is the result of a continuous dialectic or interplay between the rural or traditional patterns of Islam in Thailand and the novel influences introduced by an Islamic reform movement during the twentieth century AD. The development of the Islamic reform movement in Bangkok was the major impetus in initiating changes in the

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1. Kenneth P. Landon, *Southeast Asia: Crossroad of Religions* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 138-139; George Condominas, "Phiban cults in rural Laos", in William G. Skinner *et al.*, *Change and Persistence in Thai Society* (London, Cornell University Press, 1975).

2. Angela Burr, "Religious institutional diversity—social structural and conceptual unity: Islam and Buddhism in a southern Thai coastal fishing village", *Journal of the Siam Society*, 60:183-215, 1972; Thomas Fraser, *Rusembilan: a Malay Fishing Village* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1960).

form of Islam throughout Thailand. The reformist movement which centered in Bangkok evolved within the context of the 'Islamic renaissance' which emanated from the Middle East and spread through much of the Muslim world including insular southeast Asia. The historical genesis of the Islamic reformation extends back to the eighteenth century AD and the development of Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia. By the nineteenth century this militant movement had amassed an impressive military potential and succeeded in capturing and 'purifying' Mecca. This event brought the Wahhabi movement to the forefront of the Muslim world. Wahhabism paved the way for the late nineteenth and early twentieth century reformism associated mainly with the renowned Salifiyya movement and Muhammad Abduh of Cairo (1849-1905). Abduh's writings and ideas were a direct source of inspiration for many of the urban-based Muslim intellectuals of insular southeast Asia.³

Islamic reformism reached Thailand directly from its emerging transplanted sprouts in insular southeast Asia. Reformist ideas came to Bangkok as an indirect result of Dutch colonial policy in Indonesia. They were brought to Bangkok by an Indonesian political refugee who had been exiled by the Dutch authorities in the early part of the twentieth century. His name was Ahmad Wahab and his original home was Minangkabau in Sumatra. Prior to his immigration to Bangkok, Wahab had spent a considerable amount of time in Mecca as a student. He had become familiar with the current religious thought and practices of the Middle East, including the postulates of Abduh. Upon returning to Indonesia from Mecca he became involved with Islamic reform through various Muslim associations. After being exiled by the Dutch for his anticolonial political activities, he settled in the area around Thanon Tok in Bangkok in 1926. After he had mastered the Thai language, he began teaching reformist thought in Yanawa and in the Bangkok Noi area of Thon Buri across the river from Bangkok.

The rapid urbanization of Bangkok provided the social ingredients for the Islamic reform movement in Thailand. The expansion of the Thai economy culminated in an increasingly complex and differentiated urban milieu. New forms of educational patterns and steady improvements in communications brought about by Western technology, initially applied in Bangkok, produced an urban-based Muslim intelligentsia. Thus Bangkok was a natural depository for the insemination of Islamic reformist thought in Thailand. Wahab attracted many students and set up informal study groups. From this base, in the 1930s he eventually established the first Islamic reform association in Thailand, known as 'Anisorisunnah'. Eventually this group issued a monthly periodical, edited by Wahab, and financially supported by some members of the Muslim community in Thon Buri. Through this monthly journal Wahab directed an active reformist campaign.

Although Ahmad Wahab was responsible for the introduction of the Middle Eastern and southeast Asian versions of the Islamic Renaissance to Bangkok, it was through his students

3. Harry Benda, "Southeast Asian Islam in the twentieth century", in P.M. Holt *et al.*, *The Cambridge History of Islam* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970); Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 11-46; Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (New York City, The Free Press, 1960), pp. 124-126; Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, London, New York City; Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 32, 76, 78, 87; W.F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition: a Study of Social Change* (The Hague, W. Van Hoeue Ltd., 1959), pp. 209-210.

and followers that these ideas were galvanized and translated into a *bona fide* religious movement. One of the individuals affected by Wahab's teachings was Direk Kulsiriswasd (Ibrahim Qureyshi), a central figure in contemporary Muslim theology in Thailand. Direk was born in 1923 in Ban Khrua, Bangkok, an area once populated mainly by Cham Muslims. Direk's father was a Pakistani immigrant, and his mother was Thai. Though Thai is Direk's native language, his father taught him Urdu, the Pakistani language partially derived from Persian-Arabic sources. This was an unusual practice of Pakistani Muslims in Thailand. But the acquisition of Urdu was to become important for Direk's later scholastic and theological activities. Direk was a businessman in Bangkok throughout the post-World War II years and the 1950s. In the late 1960s he developed a successful silk-screen printing business, which is presently located in Ban Khrua near the Charoenphol area of Bangkok.

Direk's father had been an acquaintance of Ahmad Wahab, but apparently had not been influenced by reformist thinking. Direk began to scrutinize his own faith at the age of 24. Having acquired Urdu at an early age, he could learn Arabic rather easily because of their related vocabularies. With his knowledge of Arabic, Urdu and English, he was able to become familiar with Islamic exegesis and thought from the Middle East and India. This exposure convinced him of the necessity for Islamic reform in Thailand. He became an avid spokesman and writer, promulgating the same ideas that Wahab had introduced into Bangkok. He then began to attend the study sessions of Wahab in order to meet others who were becoming conversant in reformist ideology. Because Thai was a native language for Direk, his writings and lectures were to have a more profound effect on the development of the reformist movement than those of Wahab.

By 1949 Direk had completed his first of many books on Islam, entitled *Swasdipab Sangkhom* (or 'Social Welfare'). Throughout his career as a businessman, he simultaneously wrote tracts on Islamic religious and cultural affairs. He wrote treatises on such topics as Islamic marriage customs, prohibitions on eating pork, fasting during Ramadan, the *haj* and Islam and science. More recently he has written essays on folk Islam, the history of Thai Muslims and the influences of Muslim literary styles on classical Thai literature. In addition to many periodical articles, he completed a massive, four-volume Thai translation of the Quran. This achievement, completed after more than ten years of effort and personal expenditure of over 100,000 baht, represents the only full translation of the Quran which is accessible to the Thai Muslim population. As of 1977, this prolific writer had finished a translation of the *hadith* of al-Bukhari. These works represent some of the contributions of the reformist attempt to bring to the Thai Muslims an awareness of the basic foundations of the Islamic faith. Direk became the foremost intellectual leader of the reformist movement of the 1950s, 1960s and well into the 1970s.

Sociologically, Islamic reformism in Bangkok progressed from an informal teacher-student relationship to a more corporately organized movement. The initial proponent of reformist ideology in Bangkok, Ahmad Wahab, who ethnically was outside of a Thai cultural framework attracted a small local following from Bangkok Noi Muslims in the early 1930s. Informal, learning sessions were held in Wahab's household for a tightly knit group of young Muslims. The Ansorisunnah was founded and served as the printing house for the propagation

of reformist thought through its monthly magazine. As the reform movement gathered strength throughout the 1940s and 1950s, its organizational base shifted from the Ansorisunnah to the 'Jam'i-yatul Islam', another voluntary Muslim group in Bangkok. The Jam'i-yatul Islam was founded by some Indo-Pakistani migrants and their descendants residing in Bangkok. Jam'i-yatul Islam was modelled along the lines of the well-known 'Jama'at-i Islami' of the south Asian subcontinent which played such an important role in Indo-Pakistani politics. Although originally Jam'i-yatul Islam was an ethnic association, after the 1950s the organization opened its ranks to all Muslims in Thailand. Reformist leaders from varied ethnic backgrounds joined to administer Jam'i-yatul Islam. The present secretary of Jam'i-yatul Islam is Direk Kulsiriswasd.

The other reformist organization in Bangkok is the Young Muslim Association of Thailand (YMAT). YMAT might be considered as the younger generation's vehicle for initiating social and religious reform, and is a direct spin-off of Jam'i-yatul Islam. There are close and informal networks between the leaders of Jam'i-yatul Islam and YMAT. Most of the younger leaders have been inspired by the older members who struggled during the formative period of the reform movement. Presently the meetings and activities of YMAT are centered at the Islamic Centre and Foundation of Thailand which was originally to have been constructed as a central mosque in Bangkok. Because of a lack of funding, construction has fallen behind schedule and the mosque has not been completed. The Center has become a reformist enclave in Huamak. Muslims from the Phrakhanong and Huamak areas attend lectures given by the young leaders of YMAT every Saturday and Sunday. During holy days YMAT organizes activities for the Muslims throughout the city.

Reformist ideology in Thailand

The Islamic reform movement in Thailand, centered in Bangkok, is a derivative of the reformist complex of the Middle East and the Malayan-Indonesian region. The essential ideology which permeated these various cultural areas retained certain unifying elements which are important to the Muslims of Thailand in the 1970s. Reformist conceptions were elaborated in order to deal with certain interrelated problems which were affecting Muslims in the Middle East, as well as Muslims throughout southeast Asia. The initial problem besetting Muslims, as conceived by the reformists, was that Islam had become decadent. Muslims in Thailand and throughout the world were in a state of backwardness in comparison with those from Western European countries. This condition was a result of genuine ignorance of the true spirit of Islam and a consequent weakening of social, moral and intellectual will. It was held that the spiritual principles of Islam had been corrupted by degrading customs which had become institutionalized because of the complacency of the traditional *ulama* (Islamic scholars

and official theologians). The solution for this problem, as proposed by the reformists, was to return to the simple teachings of the Quran and *hadith*, a basis for which all Muslims could unite.

In Thailand the most visible aspect of this Islamic decadence or backwardness was folk Islam as it existed in the rural communities, and other non-Islamic practices and teachings within the Muslim communities of Bangkok. The Thai reformers held that this state of affairs was due to a lack of comprehension of the genuine tenets of Islam. Folk Islam was of dramatic concern to these Thai Muslim reformists, not only because of the indigenous spiritualism which surfaced during ritual practices, but also because of the intermingling of elements from the other great traditions, namely Buddhism and Hinduism. As more Thai Muslim intellectuals were exposed to reformism, their tolerance for folk Islam diminished greatly. They suggested that Islam had become decadent or corrupted in Thailand simply because of its distance from the spiritual center of Islam, the Middle East. It was assumed by these Thai Muslim reformists that as more Muslims learned more about orthoprax Islam, they would be more likely to reject the accretions from other great traditions and folk elements. This assumption implied that the transformative effect of Islamization was a continuing, unilinear process which proceeded in stages. There was a gradual religious evolution from folk to great orthodox traditions which was directed by the education of Thai Muslims as to what was considered the true principles of Islam.

Another related problem perceived by the Thai Muslim reformists was the question of *taqlid*. *Taqlid* was an established pattern of education among Muslims for centuries which involved the acceptance of belief on the authority of others without question or objection. *Taqlid* was a traditional approach to interpreting the Quran and *hadith* which rested on the claim that only the early generations of Muslims had had the capacity to interpret Islam. The reformists viewed this attitude of religious conservatism as an obstacle to their endeavor to purify Islam of non-Islamic practices and attitudes. They maintained that *taqlid* was responsible for the endurance of folk practices and other elements or innovations accepted by many Thai Muslims.

The Thai reformers argued that beliefs based on an uncritical acceptance of textual sources or traditional religious authorities, were wrong because the only sources for religious beliefs and practices were the Quran and authentic *hadith*. They contended that Muslims should strive to attain truth by utilizing *akal* (reasoning), a process known as *ijtihad*. *Ijtihad* involved discovering the legal and religious prescriptions laid down in the Quran and *hadith* and, through reason, applying them to the contemporary Thai social and political environment. The purification of religion, the rejection of *taqlid* and the acceptance of *ijtihad* were conceived to be among the first stages toward releasing Muslims from ignorance and rediscovering the true principles of Islam which in the past had uplifted Muslims throughout the world. Wahab, Direk and other Thai reformists could not countenance the accumulation of illegitimate non-Islamic beliefs and practices as upheld by practitioners in the Muslim communities of Thailand. Beliefs in the Thai *phii* or Malay spirits by Muslims were objectionable because they amounted to *shirk* (syntheism, or the ascribing of powers of God to things or others than God). As the reform movement spread in Thailand the reformists began to view themselves as a select

minority who were faced with the task of upholding the true doctrine against superstition and 'pagan' traditional rites.

Another concern of the Thai reformists was the relationship between religion, the Quran and modern scientific practices. They maintained, as did the Middle Eastern and Malayan-Indonesian reformers, that there is essentially no conflict between science and religion, that both are based upon reason, and both to a certain extent study the same phenomena, but each with its own object in view. Thai Muslim reformists applied this ideological perspective in their attempt to deal with the traditional, supernatural or anti-scientific concepts which were deemed non-Islamic. Their position is that the fundamentals within the Quran are in no way opposed to modern scientific or medical practices, and that in many cases the Quran and *hadith* must be comprehended as in fact revealing modern scientific principles.

Other more specific issues which concerned the Thai reformists involved religious practices and rituals which were observed in the Thai Muslim communities. 'Hagiology', spirit worship, the use of traditional spirit doctors, and rurally oriented death practices were matters of concern. The practices of returned pilgrims or *hajji*, traditional feasting activities, methods for determining the time of Ramadan, certain types of prayers, the use of religious imagery and the use of the Arabic language were other areas in which the reformists hoped to have some educational influence. In a more mundane context the Thai Muslim reformists hoped to challenge the traditional *ulama* and compete for certain bureaucratic posts dealing with Islamic affairs within the Thai government. In this way they proposed to develop an innovative religious-bureaucratic structure which would be responsive to the demands of the Muslim population in Thailand.

Traditionalist reaction

In 1935 the first polemical attack directed at Muslim reformist ideology was published in Bangkok. This tract was entitled *Rua sunni siam* ('The Sunni School of Thought of Siam'), written by *Hajji* Tuan Suwannasat (or Tuan Yah Yawi). This publication signified the actualities of the split which was taking place within the Islamic community in Bangkok. From this point onward there were to be two major camps representing Muslim ideology and practices in Bangkok. And from Bangkok the schism would ultimately reach out into the adjacent provinces in central, southern and northern Thailand. The major theme articulated in *Rua sunni siam* involved the notion of *taqlid* and their interpretation of the Islamic religious texts. The conservative *ulama* of Bangkok opposed the use of *ijtihad* in the interpretation of the Quran or other Islamic literature. It was argued that the truths established by the *ulama* could not be questioned or reexamined, for this could lead to misinterpretation and error. An adjunct to this thinking as expressed in *Rua sunni siam* is that only the established religious scholars, the so-called '*mujtahids*' were able to confirm the correct interpretation of the sacred texts. The *Rua sunni siam* did not specify Ahmad Wahab or any reformists directly, but it was obvious that the arguments marshalled by Tuan Suwannasat were definitely directed at the reform movement.

The conservative *ulama* defended many of the traditional practices which were viewed as heterodox by the reformists. They argued that many of these practices were valid in a southeast Asian context and felt that they were harmless to the cause of Islam. For example they maintained that the traditional feasting activity (known in Thailand by the Buddhist term *tham bun*) was a well institutionalized custom throughout the Malaysian-Indonesian Islamic world. And they believed that these *tham bun* ceremonies served an important religious and social function in integrating the Muslim community in Thailand.

In general the traditional authorities or *hajji* of the Thai Muslim communities objected to the 'modernizing' trends of the reformists. They opposed Direk's translation of the Quran and proscribed the use of it by Thai Muslims. They categorized Direk as an extreme liberal and rationalist who was not really under the 'Word'. In other words they implied that his translation was too free in dealing with the meanings in the Quran and that his real exegetical methods were based on modernist reasoning rather than the literal 'Word' of God. The conservative *ulama* viewed scientific trends as suspect. One aspect of their reasoning was that the acceptance of modern scientific thought from the West, once accomplished, would inevitably lead to materialism and secularism. By adopting scientific notions Muslims would become apostates. Western civilization and culture would have an eroding effect on Islamic thought and institutions in Thailand. These traditionalists regarded science as isomorphic with Western ethics and values.

To some extent, because of the reform movement and its consequences, Islam in Thailand appears on the surface as two distinctly opposed forms of thought and action. In Indonesia, Geertz had popularized the typologies of *santri* and *abangan* to refer to the differences between the urban reformers and the traditionalists.⁴ The *santri* were those Muslims who were influenced by the reformist doctrinal winds from the Middle East, while the *abangan* were those Javanese who adhered to a syncretic blend of pre-Islamic traditions and Islam. In the literature on Thai Muslims, Burr in her study of Muuthiinyng, a village near Songkhla, urban-educated Muslim reformists were referred to as 'Wahhabis'.⁵ This socioreligious category is also used in the same way in Bangkok. The traditionalists in Muuthiinyng called themselves *phuak kau* ('old group'). In Soonthornpasuch's work on Chiang Mai Muslims, he noted that the reformists were designated as *phuak mai* ('new group') as opposed to *phuak kau*.⁶

But in Bangkok the labels utilized most by both traditionalist Muslim and reformist Muslim alike, are *khana kau* and *khana mai*. *Khana* translates roughly as 'group', 'body', 'organization' or 'team'; while *kau* means 'old' and *mai* is 'new' or 'recent'. Thus *khana kau-khama mai* represents the heterodox-traditionalist versus the orthodox reformist ideological patterns in the Thai Muslim communities. It must be emphasized, however, that this dichotomous formula cannot be used as anything more than an analytical mode in assessing the religious and cultural heritage of Islam in Thailand. And even though such conceptual modes have some basis in the empirical Thai world, most Thai Muslims do not consistently identify with the

4. Geertz, *ibid.*, pp. 11-215.

5. Burr, *op. cit.*, pp. 195.

6. Suthep Soonthornpasuch, "Islamic identity in Chiangmai City: a historical and structural comparison of two communities", unpubl. diss. in anthrop., University of California at Berkeley, 1977, p. 164.

conceptual framework of any one of the ideal modes. Rather, the majority of Muslims in Bangkok fall in between somewhere being influenced by both *khana kau* and *khana mai* elements. The extremist positions are only tendencies, and are a reflection of the kind of information gained from those informants who are able to articulate their religious beliefs and actions in a comprehensible fashion.

A related problem associated with the strict application of these ideal types of folk heterodox/reformist orthodox is the general assumption held by most anthropologists that these 'pure' types exist in well-demarcated geographical zones, viz. rural/urban. This assumption is linked to the folk-urban schematics stemming from Redfield, Singer *et al.* According to these folk-urban theorists, there is a continuum between the rural-folk 'little tradition' and the urban-orthodox great tradition. Urban religiosity is conceived to be closer to the pure literary tradition, while the rural little tradition tends to be syncretistic and adulterated. There is a tendency to view these structurally opposed models as if they were isolable and existed in a vacuum. The problem with this formulation is that there is a demonstrable interrelationship between these models which cannot be overlooked. For in Bangkok, a very urbanized area, the essential character of Islam is a consequence of the dialectical relationship between the traditionalist and reformist modes of thought and action. These heuristic devices used to analyze religious systems ought not to be confused with religion at the 'grass-roots' level.

The religious conflict between the *khana mai* and *khana kau* resulted in both direct and indirect, abrupt and subtle, transformations in the form and content of Islam in Thailand. Through the endeavors of the *khana mai* and their reformist critique, many Thai Muslims have a deeper understanding of Sunni doctrine and practice.⁷ This is due to factors like the *khana mai* sponsorship of the Friday sermon being given in the vernacular, rather than in Arabic, a language which is foreign to most Thais. It is also a result of the translation efforts and scholarship of Direk Kulsiriswasd who translated the Quran and other religious texts into Thai. Though the *khana kau* oppose the translation on theological grounds, it is the most widely used source of the Quran in Thailand (with the exception of the Malay-speaking provinces in the kingdom). Other notable successes of the *khana mai* involved the elimination of some of the folk practices and beliefs that had become acceptable aspects of Islam. The urban reformists were the cultural brokers who were attempting to reconcile the basic tenets of Islam with certain modern socio-economic transformations in Thailand.

Yet there are some areas that have been a fecund source of contention among the *khana kau* and *khana mai* which have not undergone any dramatic transformations. Though the *khana kau* have accommodated themselves to some elements of the modernization processes in Thailand since the beginning of the Bangkok era, they still cling tenaciously to some of the beliefs and practices that are considered heterodox by the reformists. Certain death customs, feasting practices (*tham bun*), the use of religious imagery and types of prayers are some of the areas where traditionalism still has precedence over the form of Islam in Bangkok and Thailand. Even these practices, however, are under the pressure of criticism because of the steady

7. There is a small Shia minority located in Bangkok referred to by Thai Muslims as '*chao sayn*'. This minority community is located in Thon Buri, and their principal mosque is Charoenphol Masjid. See R. Scupin, "Thai Muslims in Bangkok: Islam and modernization in a Buddhist society", unpubl. diss. in anthrop., University of California at Santa Barbara, 1978.

growth of the reform movement throughout Thailand. Consequently there are subtle, ongoing changes in these traditional rituals and beliefs that tend to keep Islam in Thailand in a state of transition. In reality static traditionalism is not a viable stance in a post-traditional society such as Thailand. Unremunerative ritual practices will not be condoned for long by those Muslims exposed to the contemporary educational, social and religious trends of twentieth-century Bangkok.

The major sociological contrast between the *khana kau* conservative *ulama* and the *khana mai* reformist is that the former have been educated within the traditional Islamic schools in Thailand, while the latter have been exposed to outside influences. The traditional Islamic schools in Bangkok and the countryside have produced the leadership in the rural and urban areas. These leaders monopolize most of the important bureaucratic posts in the Thai government dealing with Islamic affairs.⁸ From this organizational base the conservative *ulama* exercise a profound influence on the form of Islam in Thailand. This institutionalized authority structure has a captive audience. The reformists, for the most part, function outside of this institutionalized context and appeal largely to an educated, emergent middle class of Thai Muslims. This creative minority has had a minimal impact on the vast majority of the Muslim populace, especially in the rural areas.

Assuming that Thailand as a nation continues to develop economically and socially along similar lines as in the immediate past, an increasing percentage of the population will become literate and educated. This population will include Thai Muslims who will be acquainted with the innovative ideas associated with the processes of modernization. They will also undoubtedly become more familiar with reformist thought in Thailand. Some of the younger generation will go abroad to study at Al-Azhar or in other Middle Eastern universities. Consequently, as more Muslims become familiar with the idiom of reformist ideology, the movement is bound to grow. In doing so, the Islamic renaissance will inevitably have profound implications for the form and content of Muslim thought and ritual in Thailand.

A NOTE ON THAI MUSLIM POPULATION

In 1976 Thailand had a population of approximately 42 million. According to official government statistics 95.3 per cent of this population was Buddhists, 3.8 per cent Muslims, 0.6 per cent Christians, and 0.3 per cent of other faiths.⁹ Usually scholars and government officials in Thailand classify the Thai Muslim population in two separate categories: the Malays and non-Malays.¹⁰ This linguistic anomaly is a result of the peculiar cultural and histor-

8. Tuan Suwannasat, the *khana kau* leader who was the author of *Rua sunni siam*, is presently the Chularajmontri in Thailand. The Chularajmontri is the highest-ranking Muslim position within the Thai bureaucracy. This bureaucratic post has historical precedents extending back to the Ayudhyan period. See R. Scupin, *ibid.*, ch. 5.

9. Royal Thai Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Islam in Thailand* (Bangkok, 1976).

10. Nantawan Haemindra, "The problems of the Thai Muslims in the four southern provinces of Thailand (Part One)", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 7(2), 1976; Somkid Maniwong, "Thai Muslims", *Social Science Review*, 1(3), Bangkok (in Thai), 1964; Suthep Soonthornpasuch, *op. cit.*

ical situation of the Muslims in Thailand. Islam first came to the merchant princedoms of Indonesia and Malaysia during the thirteenth century AD. Ethnohistorical data indicated that 'Islamization' of this area was a gradual process encompassing several centuries. In conjunction with this general process the political entity known presently as Thailand was expanding southward into the Malay cultural area. Historical tributary Malay states were progressively transformed into provinces dependent upon and incorporated into the Thai polity. The Muslim population residing in these provinces has retained its Malay cultural heritage, and has resisted Thai governmental attempts at assimilation. Consequently the residents of these provinces are referred to as the 'Malay' Thai Muslims.

The non-Malay Thai Muslims are those Indians, Pakistanis, Iranians, Chams, Indonesians, Chinese and Malay Muslims and their descendants who live in areas in which Thai Buddhists are the majority. The majority of these Muslims are descendants of Malay prisoners-of-war, or other migrants, who now reside outside of the four southernmost provinces of Thailand. But these Muslims are legitimately referred to as Thai Muslims, for their native language is Thai, and for all practical purposes most of these Muslims have been assimilated into the mainstream of Thai culture. The economic, educational, social, political and cultural conditions were conducive to the 'Thaification' of these Muslims. Apparently in northern Thailand traditional patterns of ethnicity are still evident, but in central Thailand and in Bangkok uniform, institutionalized socialization processes and intermarriage have had a leveling effect on all vestiges of traditional ethnicity.¹¹ Hence the social structural and cultural (outside of religion) features exhibited by these Muslims are essentially the same as those of the dominant Thai Buddhist population.

In Bangkok the non-Malay Thai Muslims make up from about 6 to 8 per cent of the entire population of about 4 million. Historically these Muslims resided in compact homogeneous 'ethnic' neighborhoods. But during the twentieth century the diverse geographic and social mobility patterns connected with complex urbanization processes have resulted in the dissolution of these ethnic enclaves. The only exception to this generalized pattern is the northeast edge of Bangkok which extends from Phrakhanong in the south to Bangkokpi and out into the countryside to Minburi. Within this area there are distinctive Muslim neighborhoods which lie interposed between the dominant Thai Buddhist settlements. According to the official census of 1970, the Muslim population of Bangkok consisted of 74,532 males and 75,836 females. These figures are questioned by several Muslim associations and leaders in Bangkok. Considering fertility rates, urban in and out-migration, and estimates of Muslim associations, the present population of Muslims in Bangkok appears to be between 200,000 and 230,000.

11. For the Muslims of northern Thailand, see Suthep Soonthornpasuch, *op. cit.*

DETERMINATION OF THE ORIGINAL FIRING TEMPERATURE OF CERAMICS FROM NON NOK THA AND PHIMAI, THAILAND

by

WILLIAM MEACHAM and WILHELM G. SOLHEIM II*

Analysis

Twenty samples of ceramics from two Thai sites excavated by Solheim, Parker and Bayard (1966) were subjected to thermal expansion measurements to determine their original firing temperature. The project was undertaken by Meacham with the same procedures applied in an earlier analysis of pottery from Hong Kong sites (Meacham, 1978: 174 - 181). The measurements were again conducted by Dr L. K. Leung of the Department of Applied Science, Hong Kong Polytechnic.

The results of the analysis generally accord well with the ideal thermal expansion behaviour of ceramics elsewhere (Roberts, 1963) and an "equivalent firing temperature (T_{eq}) was in most cases determined which is "that constant temperature which would bring about the same amount of sintering as was achieved during the original firing" (Tite, 1969). It is quite likely, however, that the original firing was not even, and that T_{eq} thus represents a value somewhat less than the peak temperature to which the sample was exposed.

As in the case of the Hong Kong material, contraction of the Thai samples was observed relative to the sample holder, but conversion to absolute values revealed expansion in every case. In two instances when the samples were preheated to 400-600°C (releasing hydration and organic material), cooled, then fired to 1200°, relative expansion rather than contraction took place. The point at which sintering began (T_a) was very clearly exhibited but the resultant T_{eq} (940°, 950°) were consistent with the other results of samples which were not preheated. One sample which did show relative expansion above 900° also had a very well-defined T_a at 950°.

Another factor indicating that the results do indeed reflect the original firing temperature is the fact that a majority of the samples gave curves which very closely resembled that of a control piece (of Hong Kong potters' clay) fired for two hours at 1040-1060°. The T_{eq} of the control piece was estimated from its curve at 1010-1040°.

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The authors thank David Welch for his assistance with the sherd samples sent to Hong Kong for testing.

This article is also scheduled for publication in the *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society*, but without the graphs illustrating the thermal expansion curves of sherds tested which are appended herewith.

While it is true that mineral idiosyncrasies can give rise to misleading results (Tite, 1969), the general consistency of the results internally, with the control piece and with the expected pattern, seems to suggest rather strongly that the results reported below are an accurate reflection of the original firing temperatures.

Unlike the Hong Kong material, all but two of the Thai sherds had a distinctive T_a well above the quartz inversion disturbance observed at 570-620°. It would thus seem that few if any of the Thai sherds were fired in the lower range of 500-700° which was suggested for the earliest Hong Kong wares.

Sherds from layers 6-9 at Non Nok Tha gave T_{eq} result falling in the general range of 800-950°. No trend could be discerned from one layer to the next:

Layer 6 — 800-850°, 820-860°, 850°, 860-900°, 880-920°, 910-950°, 940°, 950°

Layer 7 — 800-875°, 900-950°, 900-975°

Layer 8 — 860-900°, 860-940°

Layer 9 — 750-810°

Sherds from Phimai, however, gave results of: 800-860°, 940-980°, 1150-1200° and 1150°. The latter two are well above the range seen in the Non Nok Tha material.

Interpretation

This project was initiated after a discussion between the authors on the significance of the results obtained on the Hong Kong material, and on one sample from the Yuan-shan Neolithic culture of Taiwan which gave a result of 1030°. Some of the ceramics from Non Nok Tha seemed to be fired to a comparable hardness, above the range attainable by open firing.

This observation now seems to be demonstrated. Open firings seldom exceed 800-850°, and this peak temperature is attained for a brief period only. An "equivalent firing temperature" for the best open-fired wares would thus be in the range of 600-800°. Virtually all of the Non Nok Tha ceramics tested were fired well above this range, and were probably subjected to peak temperatures of 1000° or more in a rapid firing, or sustained temperatures of 800-950°, in an enclosure, primitive kiln, clay-lined pit, or other partially closed firing situation. The high-fired wares of Phimai must have been produced in a well-constructed kiln capable of reaching at least 1200-1250°.

Nothing of the nature of a kiln has been found in the excavation of early sites in northeastern Thailand, though this sort of feature has been looked for during excavations. A kiln was found at a probable Dvaravati site (LP8) in Sahatsakan, northeastern Thailand (Solheim and Gorman, 1966:161), but this, at the most, would have been from 1,400 years ago and more likely around 1,000 years ago or less. This was hypothesized to have been used in making charcoal (not yet published). Present-day earthenware pottery in northeastern Thailand and neighboring Laos is fired in an open fire with no indication of the use of a kiln (Solheim 1964, 1967). Quite a sophisticated kiln is used for firing earthenware pottery today near Songkhla,

southern Thailand (Solheim, 1964: 155, pl. III*b*) but this type of kiln is thought to be of relatively recent origin.

The excavations reported at Phimai (Solheim, Parker and Bayard, 1966; Solheim and Ayers, 1979) covered only small portion of a very large site. Considerable metallic slag was also recovered from the pre-Khmer levels with the Phimai black pottery, which was the Phimai pottery here tested. While no indications of a kiln were found, it is likely that kilns were in use on the site well back into first millennium BC (Solheim and Ayers, 1979; addendum). Visual examination gives the impression that the Phimai black pottery was well fired under controlled conditions (Solheim, 1965: 254).

With only a few large sites having been excavated over a considerable area, and these excavations having covered only a small percentage of the total site, it is still quite possible that partly underground kilns will eventually be found. Until such a kiln has been found it would be logical to hypothesize a surface enclosure of some sort that would facilitate a draft and higher temperatures than an ordinary open fire.

In conclusion, the Non Nok Tha ceramics, covering a span of time from before 3000 to *ca.* 1500 BC and ranging from early bronze use to early iron use, were fired at temperatures generally comparable to some of the contemporaneous Late Neolithic ware in Hong Kong and in Taiwan. It may be postulated from these results that a form of primitive kiln was in use in each area, and probably other regions of southeast Asia as well, as early as 3000 BC.

Significance

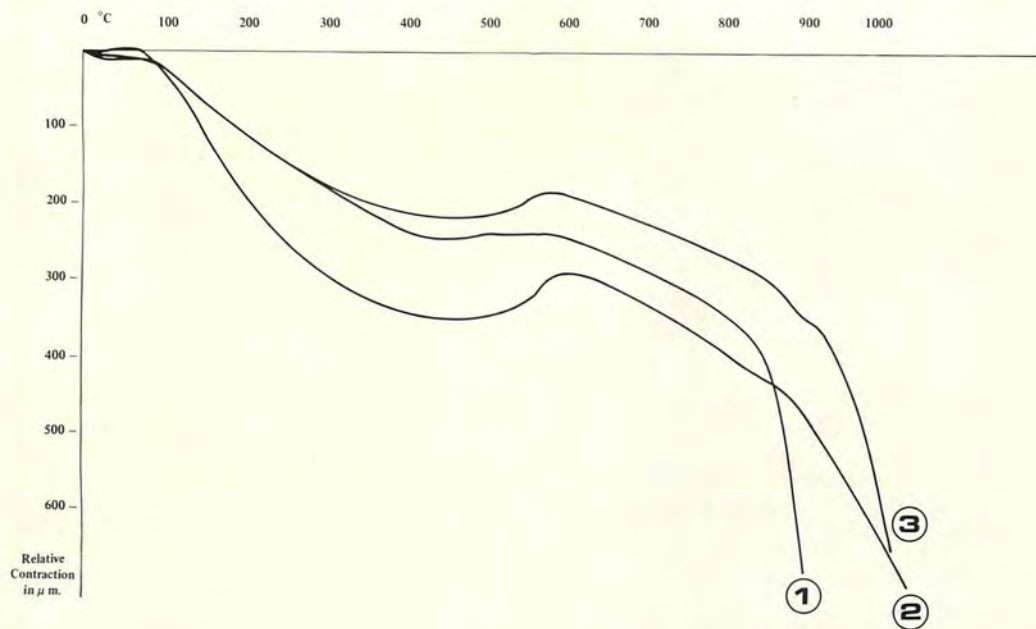
The authors do not know of any previously published specific evidence for the use of kilns in firing pottery in southeast Asia earlier than the Dongson kilns in northern Viet Nam or for the later local manufacture of stoneware in Cambodia and Viet Nam probably in the second half of the first millennium AD. Some French reports refer to a kiln for firing pottery at sites in Viet Nam but present no physical evidence for the kiln or for a high temperature of firing the pottery present. Janse reported kilns at the site of Dongson (1947: pls. 139, 142-43, 147-51, 158, etc.). According to recent chronologies, these kilns probably date to the second half of the first millennium BC. It has been suggested that the lack of kilns for use in the early metallurgy of northeastern Thailand presents a partial explanation for the manufacture of only relatively small bronze artifacts and no large ones, while the Dongson phase of northern Viet Nam prehistory with its production of large bronze artifacts must have had kilns (Solheim, n.d.).

The evidence presented here for the widespread knowledge and use of some sort of primitive kiln in the firing of pottery in southeast Asia, well previous to 2000 BC, makes it easier to hypothesize the local development of metallurgy in southeast Asia. With the higher temperature produced by such kilns it is much more likely that the accidental melting of copper, lead or tin could have taken place during kiln firings of pottery than in the lower-temperature firing in an open fire, and the observation of such phenomena might well have led to the invention of metallurgy somewhere in mainland southeast Asia. For some reason the use of this hypothesized kiln was dropped for firing earthenware in southeast Asia, although it may

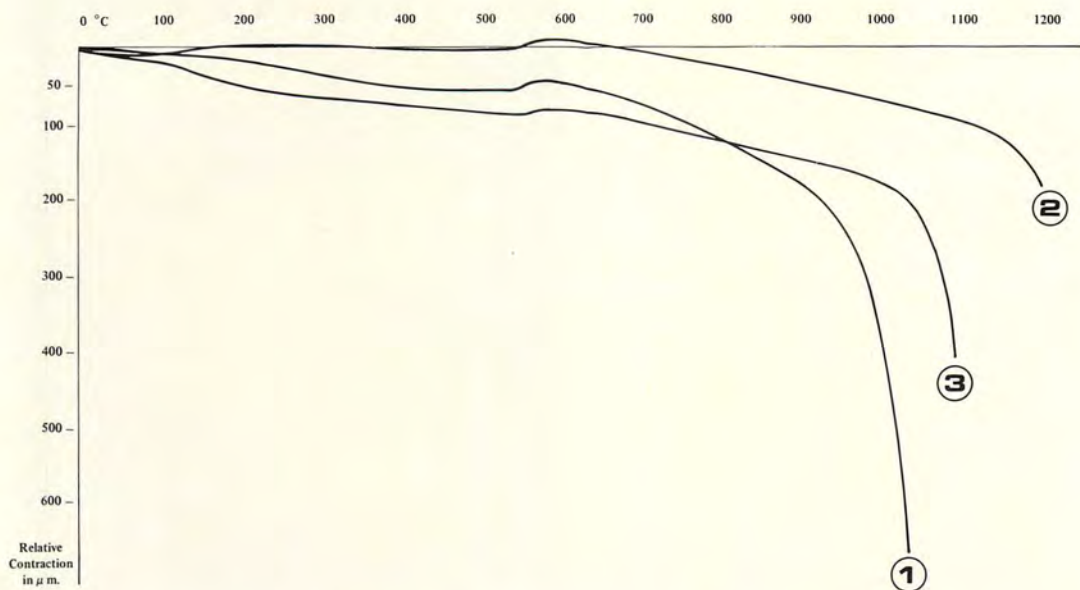
have led to the development of stoneware in one or more areas, with improved kilns, and the differentiation in manufacture and use of these two kinds of pottery. It is also quite likely that the ceramic kiln technology was adapted at a very early stage for metallurgical purposes, such as smelting and alloying.

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Graph 1. Re-firing curves for three samples from Non Nok Tha: (1) sherd from layer 6A, with temper of sand, laterite and fiber, original firing estimated at 840-860° C; (2) layer 6B, sand, laterite, fiber, 880-920°; (3) layer 7, sand, 900-950°.



Graph 2. Re-firing curves for two samples from Phimai and one control piece: (1) Phimai blackware, fiber and sand temper, original firing estimated at 940-980°C; (2) stoneware, fiber, sand and laterite, 1150-1200°; (3) control piece of potter's clay fired at 1040-1060°, estimated firing temperature from curve at 1010-1040°.



Figure 1. About 2300 BC, Middle Period 3.
Rim diameter, 9.9 cm; maximum diameter,
14.7 cm.
Discovered at Non Nok Tha, 1966.
One of the most common vessel forms excavated
from the site; variations of this form were found
in every layer from the earliest to Layer 3 (about
1600 AD).



Figure 2. Before 3000 BC, Early Period I.
Discovered at Non Nok Tha, 1968.
The pattern on the body is an impressed,
running curvilinear scroll.

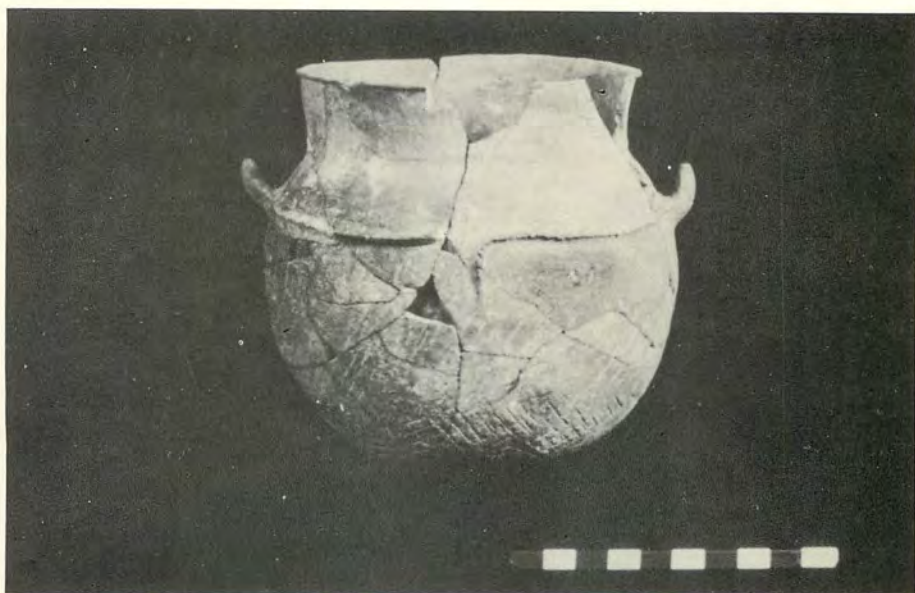


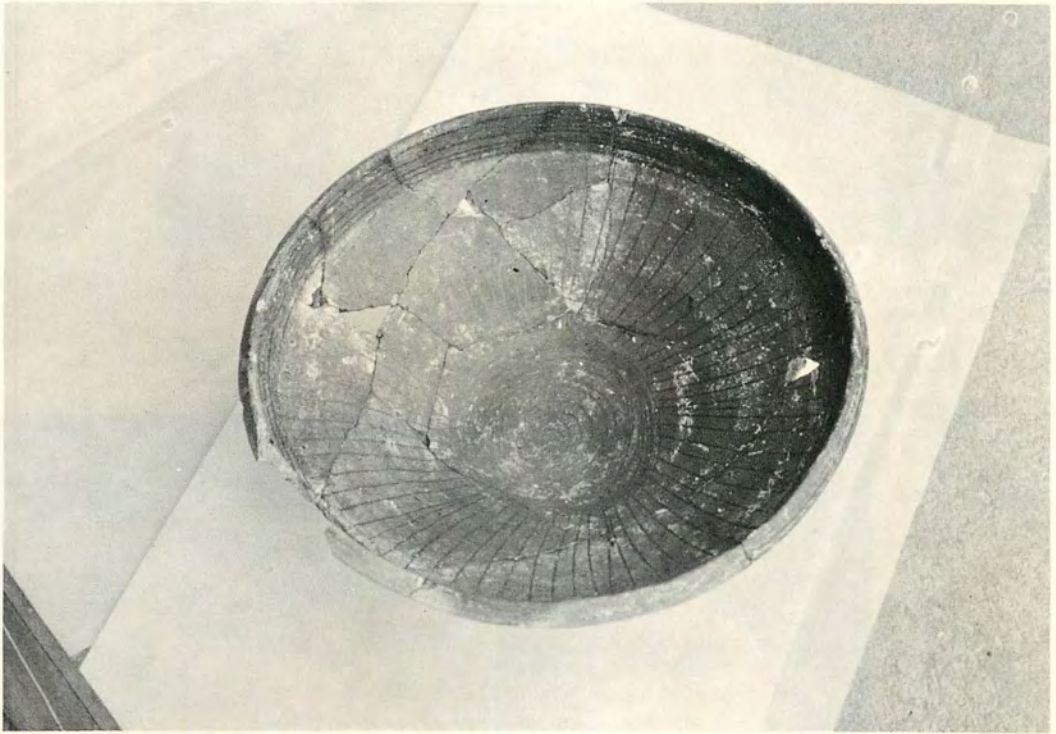
Figure 3. About 2500 BC, Middle Period 2.
Discovered at Non Nok Tha, 1966.



Figure 4. Phimai blackware, discovered 1966.
Rim diameter, 10.8 cm; maximum diameter, 14.7 cm.



Figure 5.



Two examples of Phimai blackware; no provenience.

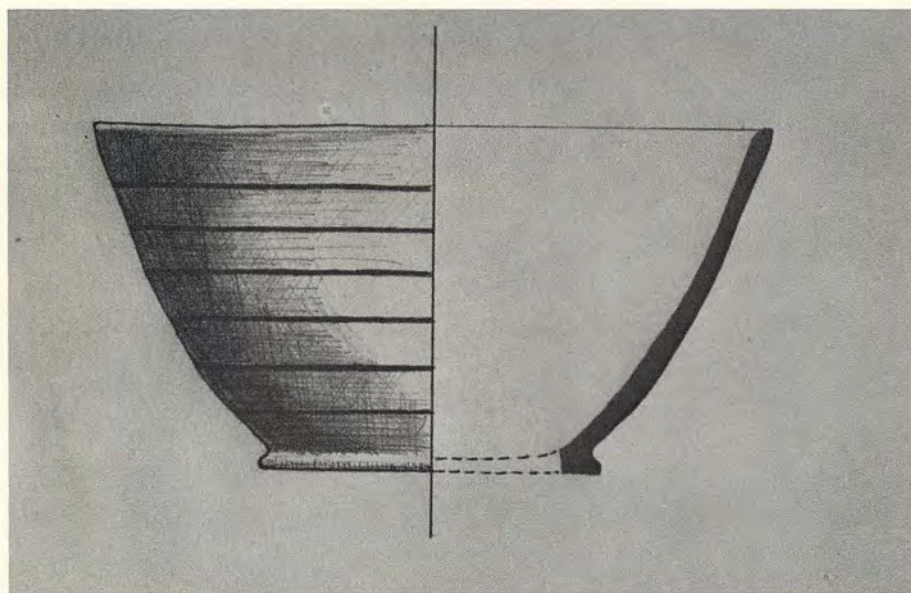


Figure 6. Phimai blackware, discovered 1966.
Height, 5.7 cm; rim diameter 11.3 cm.



Figure 7. Phimai blackware, discovered 1966.
Rim diameter: (left) 12.6 cm; (right) 12.4 cm.

AN EARLY KHMER SCULPTURE FROM SOUTHERN LAOS

by

PIRIYA KRAIRIKSH*

An early Khmer stone sculpture, here referred to as the Champassak statue (figs. 1-3), was discovered over 60 years ago; but it was little known and hence was not mentioned in the standard works on Khmer sculptures. In 1972 it was published in locally produced volumes, and illustrated in the French journal *L'oeil*.¹ In view of its artistic excellence it merits a detailed analysis, which may throw light on the earliest period of Khmer art.

The statue was found by the villagers of Ban Muang on the east bank of the Mekong River opposite Ban P'apin, which is four kilometres north of Champassak, and was given to *Chao* Ratsdanay Nhouy, the titular ruler of the province of Champassak. After his death, it came into the possession of his son and successor, *Chao* Boun Oum.

The statue is stylistically related to the earliest group of statues found in southeastern Kampuchea on the Phnom Da Hill near Angkor Borei, from which derived the art historical term, the Phnom Da style.²

The Phnom Da style is divided into two phases: phase A and phase B. To phase A are assigned most of the sculptures found at Angkor Borei and at Phnom Da. These are believed to have been made during the reign of Rudravarman of Funan (A.D. 514- c. 539). To phase B, which is the stylistic continuation of the previous phase, are assigned the statues found elsewhere in southern Kampuchea and which are dated to the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

The Champassak statue is exceptional, for while it is stylistically related to the sculptures in the Phnom Da style A, it was not found in southern Kampuchea but in southern Laos. It is thus the only major work of art of the period to have been found so far north. It adds a little flesh to the skeleton of history of the region around Champassak, whose testimony consists mostly of dynastic chronicles and a few inscriptions.

The early history of the region is still dimly known. However, an inscription found near Wat Phu and dated paleographically to the second half of the fifth century A.D. reveals that Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmāñ Śrīdevānika came from far away to set up a *liṅga*, which had been worshipped since antiquity, on the mountain of Wat Phu.³ Coedès, who trans-

* The writer wishes to thank *Chao* Boun Oum na Champassak for information concerning the statue, and Dr. Charles Archaimbault for his reading of the manuscript and for his valuable comments.

1. Published in Pierre Lintings, *Les rois de Champassak* (Pakse, 1972), fig. 10; also reproduced on the back cover of *Bulletin des amis du Royaume Lao*, No. 7-8 (1972). Photograph published in Doan na Champassak, "Un ensemble khmer inconnu: Vat Phu", *L'oeil*, Nos. 212-213 (août-septembre, 1972), pl. 2.

2. P. Dupont, *La statuaire pré-angkorienne* (Ascona, 1955), chaps. II and III.

3. G. Coedès, "Nouvelles données sur les origines du Royaume Khmer: la stèle de Vat Luong Kau près de Vat Phu", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient*, 48 (1956), pp. 209-220.

lated this inscription, seems to have been confused on the matter. He postulated that Devāṅka could have been the same as the Cham king known in Chinese transliteration as Fan Chen-ch'eng who sent embassies to China in A.D. 456, 458 and 472. He therefore thought that Champassak had come under the suzerainty of Champa. Yet it was not Devāṅka who installed the cult of Bhadreśvara, the national cult of Champa, on the mountain of Wat Phu, but Khmer conquerors of the Chams, Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman, in order to commemorate their victory over them.

According to the Khmer dynastic chronicles preserved in the inscription of Baksei Chamkrong of A.D. 948, the first kings of Kampuchea were Śrutavarman and his son Śreṣṭhavarman, after whom the city of Śreṣṭhapura was named.⁴ These kings broke the chain of tribute from an unspecified country and gained independence for the Khmers. Śreṣṭhapura remains the name of a district near Champassak; recent excavations have placed the city between the mountain of Wat Phu and the Mekong River.⁵ Thus, from Khmer dynastic record, it appears that the earliest city founded by the Khmers was Śreṣṭhapura, but the date of its founding remains unknown.

There is no certainty that Devāṅka of the inscription was a Cham king. He could have come from the region of the Khorat Plateau in the west as easily as from Champa in the east. Moreover, the practice of setting up *liṅga* on the top of the mountain was not unique to the Bhadreśvara cult of Champa, but was a general practice in relation to the worship of Śiva.⁶ The inscription of Devāṅka simply testifies to the existence of a Śaiva cult at Wat Phu in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

Although the rulers worshipped Śiva in the form of a *liṅga*, the phallic emblem of the god, they were thought to be terrestrial representations of the god Viṣṇu, or as one of his *avatāra*. For the god in his various *avatāra* (descents) helped mankind against the forces of evil and, as the supreme ruler and protector of the universe, Viṣṇu was analogous to a king who was the protector of the people. Thus Viṣṇuism flourished in symbiotic relationship with the monarchy and received support from the courts.

Since the Champassak statue is a stone sculpture in the round, it is unlikely to have been a part of architectural decoration. It can be assumed to have been made as an object of worship. Through comparison with the statues in the Phnom Da A group, it can be inferred that it probably represents an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Also inscriptions from the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. attest to the popularity of the god in southern Kampuchea.⁷

Because of its broken arms, there is no way of knowing which *avatāra* of Viṣṇu the Champassak statue represents. Each *avatāra* can only be identified by the objects carried by

4. G. Coedès, "Inscription de Baksei Čamkrōn", *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, IV (Paris, 1952), pp. 88-101; see also Dupont, pp. 72-74.

5. Excavation conducted by Georges Pfeiffer of the Ministry of Culture, Laos, December 1971-January 1972.

6. H. Kulke, "The Devarāja cult, a reassessment of the evidence", *Proceedings: Seventh IAHA Conference* 2 vols. (Bangkok, 1979), vol. II, pp. 1371-1384.

7. Dupont, p. 15.



Figure 1.



Figure 2.



Figure 3.

the god in his hands. The one other clue, that is the hair tied up in a knot on top of the head which is a characteristic of Balarāma, Kṛiṣṇa's elder brother,⁸ is not much of a help; because hair, or wigs, arranged in overlapping ringlets with a single topknot, were worn by men of fashion all over the 'Indianized' world around the year A.D. 500.⁹

The emphasis on the navel, here marked by a triangular groove, may also be a sign of Vaiṣṇava inspiration. Out of Viṣṇu's navel Brahma the creator was born, and hence the god's navel is considered to be the centre of the universe, the source of all existence.¹⁰

Broadly speaking, the Champassak statue can be classified as belonging to the earliest group of southeast Asian sculptures influenced by the Indian Gupta style, among which are the statues in the Phnom Da A group. However, on close analysis there are many points of dissimilarity between them. Closest stylistically to the Champassak statue among those in the Phnom Da group are the figures of Paraśurāma, the sixth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu; Rāma, the seventh *avatāra*; and Balarāma, the brother of Kṛiṣṇa, the eighth *avatāra*.¹¹ These are stylistically homogeneous; they all have a stocky physique and supple modelling. The faces are avoid in shape and the hair, arranged in ringlets with a topknot, is worn close to the head, while the ears are shown in their entirety. They all stand with a slight *tribhaṅga*. Their loincloth is tucked in front below the navel, forming a notch.

The Champassak statue, by comparison, is assertive in its stance and uncompromising in its frontality. It has a square face with cleft chin, and the features are clearly defined. The hair, or wig, is worn covering the upper part of the ears, exposing the ear lobes. The loincloth is folded in front, forming a vertical panel, and is tucked in below the navel. The notch is indicated by incisions; similarly with the pleats, each on one side of the central fold. With its taunt muscularity, it contrasts sharply with the rounded, swelling contours of the statues in the Phnom Da A group. While the latter embody the ripened fullness of maturity, the Champassak statue exudes the budding vitality of youth.

There can be no doubt that the type of hairstyle arranged in overlapping ringlets and worn covering the upper part of the ears is closer to the Indian prototype than is the type worn by the statues in the Phnom Da A group. The ear lobes also are depicted more naturalistically than those of the latter, since the holes are rendered as if they had been enlarged through the habitual wearing of circular ear-disks. The modelling of the compact body, moreover, appears to have been based on natural observation rather than on the idealized elegance of the Phnom Da A group. As the latter is dated to the first half of the sixth century A.D.¹², it is not unreasonable to assign the Champassak statue to around the year A.D. 500.

8. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 vols. (Madras, 1914-16), vol. I, p. 201.

9. For comparison, see H. Zimmer, *The Arts of Indian Asia*, 2 vols. (New York, 1955), vol. 2, pl. 177, for the hairstyle worn by an attendant in Ajanta Cave No. 17.

10. J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism* (Delhi, 1969), pp. 84-89.

11. Illustrated in Dupont, pls. I b, VI b, and V b, respectively.

12. Although J. Boisselier has in his Paris lectures shifted the Phnom Da style from the sixth to the eighth century A.D., this writer prefers the earlier chronology as proposed by Dupont. For Boisselier's dating, see H.W. Woodward, "History of art: accomplishments and opportunities, hopes and fears", *The Study of Thailand: Analysis of Knowledge, Approaches, and Prospects in Anthropology, Art History, Economics, History and Political Science*, ed. Eliezer B. Ayal (Athens, Ohio, 1978), p. 82, no. 9.

The discovery of the statue in the vicinity of the ancient city of Śreṣṭhapura substantiates the hypothesis that the city was founded in the second half of the fifth century A.D. Hence, it can be assumed that by the end of that century the Khmer people had established themselves in the Champassak region with a capital at Śreṣṭhapura, and had developed an art form paralleling that of the Phnom Da A group at Funan.

GOVERNMENT INITIATIVE AND PEASANT RESPONSE IN THE SIAMESE SILK INDUSTRY, 1901-1913

by

IAN BROWN*

Early in the 1900s the Siamese government instituted a programme designed to increase the Kingdom's silk production through the widespread introduction of modern sericulture techniques. Substantial manpower and financial resources were committed to the programme, but the long-term impact on Siam's silk output and on local sericulture methods was negligible. This article attempts to probe the reasons for the failure of the government's silk initiative.

I

The Siamese government instituted its sericulture programme in the first decade of the 1900s in order to reform the methods and techniques of a craft which had been practised in Siam for over 1,000 years.¹ At that time silk production was almost invariably undertaken in peasant households, each household usually producing sufficient silk simply to meet its own requirements, though there was also a limited internal trade in silk. In addition, from at least the mid-seventeenth century considerable quantities of silk were imported from China, for consumption by the court and the Siamese elite.²

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a very substantial increase in the level of silk imports into the Kingdom. The main stimulus to this development was the opening of Siam to unhindered foreign commerce in the 1850s. Towards the end of the century it is possible that Siam's reliance on imported silk had reached the point where there had been an absolute fall in the output of the indigenous producers.³ According to one source, in the few

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1. J.C. Barnett, *Report of the First Annual Exhibition of Agriculture and Commerce Held in Bangkok, April 1910*, Bangkok, 1910, p. 29.

2. Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade 1652-1853*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1977, p. 4.

3. Great Britain, *Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance*, No. 771, Siam, 1889, p. 13. Unfortunately it is not possible to be precise on this point for there is no reliable quantitative evidence on the major part of Siamese silk production in this period, i.e. that silk which was consumed by the producers themselves. Indeed it should be noted that the report above with some caution simply states: "the rearing of silk, beyond what is required for local wants, appears to be an occupation of diminishing importance".

years from 1896 to 1900 the value of raw silk and silk cloth imports into Siam rose from 1.40 to 2.08 million baht.⁴

The domestic silk industry was unable to repel imports essentially because the production of silk in Siam was technologically inferior, at all its stages, to that of other producers in Asia. The sericulture experts who investigated the condition of the Siamese industry from 1900 to 1910 produced an almost endless list of defects and inadequacies. For example it was argued that Siamese silkworms were very small and consequently were capable of secreting only small quantities of silk. Many worms were seriously diseased.⁵ Relatively little care was taken in rearing the worms. The cocoons were insufficiently firm, contained a high proportion of waste, and frequently had numerous perforations.⁶ The methods employed in reeling the silk thread were crude and antiquated.⁷ For example little attempt was made to separate out strands of different length and thickness in order to produce a uniformly fine thread,⁸ and consequently Siamese silk thread had a coarse, uneven quality that made it suitable for weaving only rough cloth.⁹ Weaving itself was carried out with very old equipment which made it difficult to produce a delicate material even with a fine thread.

At the end of the nineteenth century almost all the silk produced in Siam came from the Khorat Plateau, in the northeast region of the Kingdom. It is not possible to calculate accurately the total production at this time because most of the silk, as noted earlier, was consumed by the producing households. In 1903 it was estimated that between 40,000 and 60,000 people in Khorat Province were engaged in rearing silkworms, though their annual production was only about 200 piculs, valued at £1,000 to £2,000.¹⁰ In addition it was reported that each year approximately 1,000 piculs of raw silk were brought into the Khorat silk market from the other provinces of the northeast. In the early 1900s there were 23 merchants in Khorat trading in raw silk.¹¹ Finally it should be noted that at this time there was a very small

4. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *prawat krasuang kasētrāthikān (History of the Ministry of Agriculture)*, Bangkok, 1941, p. 263. These figures should be treated with some caution for there are major difficulties in deducing from the published statistics the true value of Siam's silk imports in this period. Most importantly the figures for imported silk piece goods contain a high but unspecified proportion of re-exports: these consisted of undyed goods, chiefly from China, which were brought to Siam to be treated with an ebony-derived black dye peculiar to the Kingdom. They were then re-exported, principally to Singapore. It can be assumed that some silk imports from China (including Hong Kong) were destined for consumption within Siam, but an increasingly important exporter of silk to the Kingdom at this time, particularly of higher quality silks, was Japan. Late in the 1900s, the value of Japanese silk exports to Siam was in the region of £30,000 per year. The annual import of raw silk was comparatively small — approximately £8,000 late in the 1900s. Most raw silk imports originated in Cochin-China. (Great Britain, *Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Siam. Trade of Bangkok*. No. 2898 for 1901. No. 4176 for 1907-08. No. 4615 for 1909-10. No. 4824 for 1910-11. No. 5034 for 1911-12).

5. Kametaro Toyama (Principal Sericulture Expert) to Čhaophrayā Thēwēt (Minister of Agriculture), 9 April 1902. National Archives, Bangkok (henceforth N.A.), Fifth Reign (r. 5), Ministry of Agriculture (K.S.) 8/1.

6. Prince Phenphatanaphong (Director of the Sericulture Department) to King, 3 January 1903, N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/1.

7. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

8. Prince Phenphatanaphong to King, 3 January 1903, N. A. r. 5. K. S. 8/1.

9. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

10. Toyama to Čhaophrayā Thēwēt, 8 January 1903, N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/1. (1 picul = 133 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.).

11. *Bangkok Times*, 9 September 1902.

export trade in raw silk, valued in the region of £ 15,000 per year.¹² This represented less than 1 per cent of the value of Siam's principal export, rice.

The government's attention was drawn to the depressed state of the local silk industry late in 1900 by the arrival in the Kingdom of a group of Japanese agricultural experts.¹³ The Japanese, who came to Siam not at the request of the Siamese government but of their own volition, investigated several aspects of the Kingdom's agriculture, but paid particular attention to the Khorat silk industry. Their report, entitled "A few suggestions as to the improvement of sericulture in Siam", was sent to the Minister of the Interior, Prince Damrong, and it was on his initiative that in March 1901 the Government decided to engage a Japanese sericulture expert to undertake a detailed examination of the local silk industry. The sericulture expert, Kametaro Toyama, arrived in Bangkok in March 1902.¹⁴

Toyama's first task was to undertake an inspection tour of the silk-producing areas in Khorat. His preliminary report, submitted to the Minister of Agriculture in April 1902, made clear the technical deficiencies of the local industry and the consequently poor quality of Siamese silk.¹⁵ Toyama took care to emphasize that a marked improvement in the quantity and quality of Siamese silk could be secured by the introduction of a few, relatively simple, technical innovations. Siam possessed a number of features, most notably a climate and soil well suited to the cultivation of mulberry trees and the rearing of silkworms, and a diligent and cheap female labour force, that would greatly assist efforts to expand the Kingdom's silk production.

Encouraged by this report, the government established a Sericulture Department within the Ministry of Agriculture early in 1903.¹⁶ The first Director of the new Department was Prince Phenphatanaphong, then 21 years old, who had just returned from Europe where he had been studying agricultural science.¹⁷ Toyama was retained as Chief Sericulture Adviser.

The first two years of the Department's existence was essentially a period of experimentation.¹⁸ A laboratory and mulberry plantation were established in Bangkok. Under the supervision of Toyama and his Japanese assistants, a series of detailed trials and experiments were undertaken involving almost all aspects of silk production. Perhaps the most important work involved cross-breeding Siamese and Japanese silkworms to produce a strain most suited to Siamese conditions. Particular care was also taken to develop improved methods for the

12. Great Britain, *Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Siam. Trade of Bangkok*. No. 2898 for 1901. No. 3099 for 1902. No. 3286 for 1903. Virtually all the raw silk was exported to Singapore and thence to India where it was mixed with finer quality Indian silks. Great Britain, *Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance*, No. 771, Siam, 1889, p. 13.

13. Prince Damrong (Minister of the Interior) to King, 12 February 1901, National Archives, Bangkok. Ministry of Agriculture Records. K.S. (Ag.) 13/13.

14. Čhaophrayā Thēwēt to King, 10 March 1902, N. A. r. 5. K. S. 8/1.

15. Toyama to Čhaophrayā Thēwēt, 9 April 1902, N. A. r. 5. K. S. 8/1.

16. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

17. *Bangkok Times*, 12 November 1909. Thailand, Ministry of Agriculture, *prawat krasuang kasēt (History of the Ministry of Agriculture)*, Bangkok, 1957, p. 71.

18. Report of the Sericulture Department, April-July 1904, N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/2.

cultivation of mulberry leaves, the rearing of silkworms and protection of the worms from disease and insects.¹⁹ During this period the Japanese experts were also concerned with training Siamese in modern sericulture methods. The first group of students, who began work in mid-1903, contained three minor members of the Royal Family and ten girls.²⁰ A fully constituted Sericulture School was opened in Bangkok in January 1905.²¹ Its principal objective was to train Siamese sericulture instructors who eventually would be able to replace the Japanese.

This work did not proceed without its share of difficulties. The cross-breeding programme was seriously delayed early in 1904, when ill-health forced Toyama to take leave.²² The sericulture instruction was initially hindered by a lack of Siamese textbooks and the near inability of some of the students to read and write.²³ Nevertheless the Japanese officials and their Siamese assistants appeared to be very committed to this work. There is ample evidence for this in the numerous detailed reports that were produced on the sericulture experiments undertaken in this period. In addition, within a year of its establishment the Sericulture Department was compiling Siamese-language textbooks,²⁴ and early in 1906 began distributing in the silk-making districts a superior strain of silkworm, crossbred in the laboratory in Bangkok.²⁵ The initial preparatory work undertaken in Bangkok provided the essential sound basis for the Sericulture Department's main programme among the silk producers in the provinces.

The extension of the Sericulture Department's work in the provinces began in 1904 with the establishment of a branch in the provincial capital of Khorat.²⁶ In the following year a further branch was established at Buri Ram, some 60 miles to the east.²⁷ Both branches contained a mulberry plantation, a silkworm rearing shed, and facilities for reeling silk. From late 1908 the Khorat branch also had facilities for silk-weaving.²⁸ It was intended that a relatively few producers from the silk districts around Khorat and Buri Ram would undertake training in modern sericulture techniques at these branches before returning to their communities where, by direct instruction and by their own example, they would disseminate the new sericulture methods among all the silk producers.²⁹ In most cases the training would last for one year. Each student was to be paid an allowance.

The response of the peasantry to this initiative was relatively poor. Consequently in 1908

19. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-267.

20. Toyama to Phrayā Srisunthon (Ministry of Agriculture), 23 September 1903, N. A. r. 5. K. S. 8/1. *Bangkok Times*, 13 June 1903.

21. Report of the Sericulture Department, R.S. 123 (1904/05), N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/2.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Toyama to Phrayā Srisunthon, 23 September 1903, N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/1.

24. Report of the Sericulture Department, April-July 1904, N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/2.

25. Report of the Sericulture Department, August-November 1905, N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/2.

26. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

28. *Ibid.*, p.281.

29. Report of the Sericulture Department, R.S. 123 (1904/05), N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/2. In 1904 there were 13 students at the Khorat branch.

the Sericulture Department adopted an alternative approach: instructors would be permanently stationed in eight sub-branches located directly in the silk districts,³⁰ instead of selected silk producers being required to travel to Khorat and Buri Ram for instruction. This increase in the level of resources committed to the silk districts was accompanied by a substantial reduction in the Bangkok establishment. In 1908 the experimental farm and the sericulture school in Bangkok were closed, and their facilities were transferred either to the Khorat branch or to other departments in the capital.³¹ In effect the Sericulture Department in Bangkok was reduced to an administrative unit.

This major shift of resources towards the provinces by 1910 also marked the limit of the Sericulture Department's work in this period. Undoubtedly a serious blow to its programme was the death of the Director, Prince Phenphatanaphong, in November 1909 at the age of 27.³² Despite his suffering from the effects of consumption from 1905 onward, the Prince's energetic and enthusiastic leadership had accounted for much of the Department's success in its early years. His successor, Phrayā Borombāibamrung, who transferred from the Department of Land Registration,³³ appears to have been considerably less forceful. In addition, the number of Japanese attached to the Department was steadily reduced. By 1908, 14 Japanese instructors had been replaced by Siamese graduates from the Sericulture School, leaving only 3 Japanese experts.³⁴ The last Japanese sericulture expert left Bangkok in July 1912.³⁵ By this time the work of the Department had been very considerably reduced, and in 1913 the Government decided to abandon the sericulture programme altogether.³⁶ Some 15 years later, a report on economic conditions in northeast Siam by a European official attached to the Ministry of Commerce and Communications, Reginald Le May, indicated that silk production remained essentially small-scale, technologically backward and orientated towards domestic consumption.³⁷ There was little to show for the Government's strenuous efforts earlier in the century.

II

From this brief sketch of the work of the Sericulture Department, it is clear that the Siamese government was indeed serious in its attempt to revive the northeastern silk industry

30. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-282. Prince Phenphatanaphong to King, February 1909, N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/2. Prince Damrong to Prince Sommot (King's Secretary), 26 March 1909, N. A. r. 5. K.S. 8/2.

31. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, p. 282. *Bangkok Times*, 27 November 1908.

32. *Bangkok Times*, 12 November 1909.

33. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

34. *Bangkok Times*, 27 November 1908.

35. Correspondence in National Archives, Bangkok. Fifth Reign. General Documents, B. 9/48.

36. *Bangkok Times*, 16 January 1913.

37. Reginald Le May, *The Economic Conditions of North-Eastern Siam*, Bangkok, 1932.

early in the twentieth century.³⁸ The administration was prepared to bear the considerable cost of engaging sericulture experts and instructors from Japan. The preliminary trials and experiments conducted in Bangkok were undertaken with very great care and thoroughness. Most importantly, the records of the Sericulture Department suggest that the Japanese and Siamese officials brought an uncommonly high degree of enthusiasm and commitment to their work. Some Siamese officials may have even been too vigorous in pursuing their duties, the evidence for which is considered below. The explanation for the failure of the sericulture programme must therefore lie in the quality of the peasants' response, and not in any lack of commitment on the part of the government.

From its earliest years the Sericulture Department had entertained serious doubts over the ability of the silk producers to respond to the government's programme. At various times the view was expressed that the northeastern peasants were rather naive and unsophisticated,³⁹ that they had limited material wants,⁴⁰ that they were lazy. It was also argued that the Siamese were so firmly wedded to their traditional ways that they showed little interest in more productive methods and techniques.⁴¹ A common official view was that peasants had a pronounced tendency to ignore, as far as possible, any advice or instructions given to them by government officials.⁴² The prevailing prejudice was that they had a deep suspicion of, and resistance to, government interference.

When Prince Phenphatanaphong was organizing the establishment of the first provincial branch at Khorat in 1904, he decided to meet this perceived problem in two ways.⁴³ First, it was clear that the sericulture programme would almost certainly fail if the Department restricted its activities in the provinces simply to instruction and advice. Therefore it was decided that the Department would undertake to purchase, without limit, surplus cocoons from the silk producers, in the hope that a guaranteed market for cocoons would encourage a substantial increase in production. Higher prices would be paid for fine-quality cocoons in order to encourage improvement in methods. At the same time the Department would distribute to the people more productive strains of silkworm, either free of charge or at a very low cost, again to encourage an improvement in the quantity and quality of cocoons produced. Second, with regard to the sericulture instruction itself, Prince Phenphatanaphong feared that attempts to persuade or compel the silk producers to attend instruction and training at the Khorat and Buri Ram branches would almost certainly meet with little success. Consequently, as noted

38. In this context it is interesting to note that attempts by Europeans to introduce modern sericulture techniques into China from the 1860s were met with indifference, and occasional opposition, from the officials of the Imperial Government. See Shannon R. Brown, "The transfer of technology to China in the nineteenth century: the role of direct foreign investment", *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 39, no. 1, March 1979, pp. 181-197.

39. Deputy Provincial Governor, Khorat, to Sericulture Official, Buri Ram branch, 30 June 1908, N.A.r. 5. K.S. 8/2.

40. Report of the Sericulture Department, August-November 1905, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

41. Report of the Sericulture Department, R.S. 123 (1904/05), N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

42. Sericulture Official, Buri Ram branch to Provincial Governor, Khorat, 16 June 1908, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, pp. 270, 274.

43. Report of the Sericulture Department, April-July 1904, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2. Report of the Sericulture Department, R.S. 123 (1904/05), N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

earlier, sericulture students attending the provincial schools were to be paid a monthly allowance as an inducement.

Despite these measures, Prince Phenphatanaphong found that relatively few producers were coming forward for instruction some 18 months after the establishment of the Khorat branch, when he inspected the Khorat silk districts in December 1905.⁴⁴ To a considerable extent the problem lay with the Japanese instructors who found it difficult to communicate with the local people because they were not fluent in Thai.⁴⁵ According to Prince Phenphatanaphong, one result of this was that at first the silk producers failed to understand the true objectives of the sericulture programme, and consequently a number of rather sinister rumours sprang up concerning the government's motivation. For example, it was said that all the silk thread produced by the people had to be handed over to the government as a form of *corvée*. Some villagers came to believe that if they undertook to reel silk then they would become bonded to government service. Others believed that the silk-reelers would be liable for heavy silk duties. Many villagers simply did not trust the Japanese, and feared that they were intent on deceiving the local people.⁴⁶ But there were also a number of practical considerations to account for this initial poor response. The poor communications network in the northeast made it difficult for silk producers from the more isolated districts to travel into Khorat and Buri Ram.⁴⁷ According to one source, some villagers were too poor to acquire the new sericulture implements and equipment that were essential for the adoption of the new techniques.⁴⁸ Finally, it was found that those relatively few producers who had received instruction in the new sericulture techniques at the provincial schools were not always willing to pass on their knowledge to the rest of the community after they had returned to their village. Presumably they saw that there was little personal advantage in sharing their superior skills and expertise.

It was relatively easy to dispel the initial distrust of the government's motives. A few practical demonstrations of the new sericulture methods were usually sufficient to convince the majority of villagers of their value and that the government's programme was indeed designed for their own benefit.⁴⁹ Moreover, from 1907 the Japanese provincial instructors could gradually be replaced by Siamese officials as the first graduates emerged from the Sericulture

44. Report of the Sericulture Department, August-November 1905, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

45. Prince Phenphatanaphong to King, February 1909, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

46. Prince Phenphatanaphong to King, February 1909, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

47. Čhaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

48. *Ibid.* Unfortunately it is difficult to provide quantitative evidence that would either substantiate or refute the view that there was a capital restraint on the adoption of the more advanced sericulture techniques. However, it can be noted that a silk reeler, imported from Japan at this time, cost approximately 5 baht, while a complete set of reeling equipment cost 30 baht (Report of the Sericulture Department, R.S. 123 (1904/05), N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2). No evidence is available for the income of silk producers in the northeast. On the basis of evidence presented by D.H. Feeny ("Technical and institutional change in Thai agriculture, 1880-1940", Ph.D. dissertation, Wisconsin-Madison, 1976, pp. 215-216) suggesting that in the 1900s income for unskilled rural labour was of the order of 20-30 baht per month, it seems unlikely that the acquisition of modern reeling equipment was beyond the income, and more particularly the borrowing capacity, of the peasantry. But the flimsiness of the evidence and the tentative nature of this conclusion require no emphasis.

49. Prince Phenphatanaphong to King, February 1909, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2. Sericulture Official, Buri Ram branch to Provincial Governor, Khorat, 16 June 1908, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

School in Bangkok. With regard to the practical considerations referred to above, the Sericulture Department's principal response was to take its instruction directly into the silk districts with the establishment of the eight sub-branches.⁵⁰ One or two trained female silk-reelers were to be stationed permanently in each sub-branch, with the task of persuading and cajoling the local women into adopting the new methods. Reeling equipment would be lent to all those learning the new techniques. Male graduates of the Sericulture School in Bangkok were to be appointed head of each sub-branch and would undertake instruction tours of their districts offering advice and training in the cultivation of mulberry leaves and the rearing of silkworms. The principal objective of this new approach was to make the sericulture officials and the modern silk techniques more easily accessible to all silk producers.

The establishment of the first sub-branches brought to light a further problem, however, which did much to undermine the improved relationship between officials and the local people which those branches were expected to secure. As was perhaps to be expected, the response of the silk producers to the first sub-branch, at Phutthaisong, was initially guarded; but once the local people understood the objectives and value of the sericulture programme, their attendance at the instruction sessions improved markedly.⁵¹ However, when the establishment of the second sub-branch at Rattanaaburi also met with initial suspicion, the patience of the sericulture officials with what they saw as an obstinate and blinkered peasantry finally snapped. In June 1908 the official responsible for the Buri Ram branch wrote to the Provincial Governor at Khorat to complain bitterly about the poor attendance at the Rattanaaburi sub-branch.⁵² He suggested that the Governor should issue a notification stating that any villager who failed to attend instruction sessions as stipulated by the Sericulture Department would be sent to the District Officer at Buri Ram who would impress on him most firmly that he was required to attend. In reply the Governor pointed out that it took four days to travel from Rattanaaburi to Buri Ram.⁵³ Therefore to send recalcitrant villagers to the District Officer implied that they would be severely punished for their non-attendance, rather than simply admonished. The Governor suggested that the sericulture officials should approach the problem by attempting to secure the confidence and trust of the village elders, not by applying coercion. Once the leaders of each community were convinced of the superiority of the new sericulture techniques and of the essentially altruistic nature of the Government's programme, then the involvement of their people would be secured. The experience at Phutthaisong appeared to confirm the efficacy of this approach.

These problems were also considered by Prince Phenphananaphong when he undertook an inspection tour of the northeast early in 1909.⁵⁴ In his report to His Majesty the King, he pointed out that one important reason for the generally poor peasant response was that throughout most of the year many of the people were so heavily engaged in other agricultural

50. Chaophrayā Wongsānupraphat, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274.

51. Sericulture Official, Buri Ram branch, to Provincial Governor, Khorat, 16 June 1908, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Deputy Provincial Governor, Khorat to Sericulture Official, Buri Ram branch, 30 June 1908, N.A. r.5. K.S. 8/2.

54. Prince Phenphananaphong to King, February 1909, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

and household activities that they were left with little time to attend sericulture instruction. It also appeared that the peasants at Phutthaisong had been discouraged by considerable delays on the part of the Sericulture Department in distributing modern silk-reeling implements.

Prince Phenphanaphong also took care to confirm the view of the Khorat Governor that the provincial officials of the Sericulture Department had had a tendency to be overbearing and dictatorial in their relations with the people. This problem and its effect on the people had earlier been communicated by HM the King to Prince Phenphanaphong.⁵⁵

Government [sericulture] instructors, who take up appointments in the provinces, attempt to administer through force and compulsion. They do not offer guidance to the people as to how to make a living [from sericulture]. They become loud and irritated as a result of the most trivial misunderstanding, as if they were noblemen or senior officials. This does them no good. On the contrary, the people come to hate them, to become fed up with them. As a result, although the people might learn [the new techniques], they have been so antagonized that they stubbornly refuse to put their new knowledge to practical use. The success of advice and guidance such as this depends upon acquiescence and kindness, upon attempting to explain [to the people] the benefits [of the new methods]. It does not depend upon coercion.

The danger was clear. If the provincial officials of the Sericulture Department continually attempted to force the silk producers into learning and adopting the new sericulture techniques, then this would only confirm the peasants' initial wariness and suspicion of the government's programme. Within a short time an almost impenetrable barrier of mistrust would exist between the officials and those people whom they were required to assist. In short, in the eyes of the government the overbearing and unsympathetic attitude adopted by many of its provincial officials was a major reason for the disappointing progress of the sericulture programme after the first decade of the 1900s.

This view can be contrasted with that of a contemporary European observer, W. A. Graham who was employed by the Siamese government in various capacities early in the twentieth century. Graham argued that the failure of the sericulture programme was due essentially to the "apathy and indifference of the people", in the face of which "the earnest endeavours of the Government had not produced the slightest permanent effect".⁵⁶ He noted⁵⁷ that those who had undergone sericulture training,

on returning to their homes divested themselves as soon as possible of any knowledge they had acquired and, if they went in for silk at all, adopted the ways advocated by their grandmothers; while the new-fangled foreign implements given them on leaving [the sericulture] school were stuck up in the thatch of the paternal cottage, where it was hoped that any foreign magic adhering to them might bring general good luck to the family.

A major criticism of both these approaches is that they consider the failure of the sericulture programme essentially in terms of an inadequacy or perversion of human attitude and behaviour: the officials were autocratic and inflexible, the peasants simply irrational. It can be

55. King to Prince Phenphanaphong, 27 December 1908, N.A.r. 5. K.S. 8/2.

56. W. A. Graham, *Siam*, London, 1924, vol. 2, p. 88.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

argued that in doing this both explanations ignore a number of rather basic technical and economic considerations.

III

In one important respect the degree of technical innovation envisaged by the Siamese sericulture programme in the first decade of the 1900s was quite limited. This limitation was implicitly stated by Kametaro Toyama in his initial report to the government in April 1902, in which he argued simply that the innovations he proposed would improve considerably the quality of silk produced in Siam: there was no indication that the quality of Siamese silk would be raised to that of silk produced, for example, in Japan itself.⁵⁸ An important practical manifestation of this limitation was that the more modern sericulture implements which the Japanese experts introduced into Siam were, in many cases, rather primitive when compared with those currently employed in their native country. Early in the twentieth century in Japan, for example, the major portion of silk thread was reeled on mechanical reelers,⁵⁹ whereas in Siam the newly-introduced reeling implements consisted of relatively unsophisticated hand-operated devices.⁶⁰

The Siamese government appears to have made a conscious decision to adopt this inferior technology. The initial programme drawn up by the Sericulture Department contained a proposal for the government to establish a mechanical reeling station to train Siamese in the use of machine reelers, but by 1905 the proposal had been abandoned.⁶¹ The principal consideration in this respect was that mechanical reelers could be utilized only in relatively large-scale, specialist establishments, whereas hand-operated implements were suitable for use in individual peasant households. In other words it would appear that the Siamese government wished to promote only those technical advances in sericulture which did not involve major structural changes in the organization of the local industry. The existing structure was to be maintained, whereby each silk-producing household undertook virtually all stages of production, from the cultivation of mulberry leaves to the weaving of silk cloth.⁶² The Siamese government was not prepared to countenance the major structural reorganization—principally the development of large-scale reeling establishments—that was essential for the full exploitation of the most advanced sericulture techniques.

58. Toyama to Chaophrayā Thēwēt, 9 April 1902, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/1. Toyama noted that raw silk exported from Yokohama was valued at \$800 - \$950 per picul. He argued that if his proposals were implemented fully, Siamese silk could fetch \$700 per picul. In 1902 the average price of Siamese silk per picul was \$120.

59. G.C. Allen, *A Short Economic History of Modern Japan*, 3rd ed., London, 1972, pp. 66-67. By 1909-13, 72% of total Japanese output was reeled on mechanized equipment.

60. Prince Phenphananaphong to King, February 1909, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2. Even this relatively simple equipment had a tendency to break down frequently unless it was well maintained.

61. Toyama to Chaophrayā Thēwēt, 8 January 1903, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/1. Report of the Sericulture Department, R.S. 123 (1904/05), N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

62. It should be noted that the provincial instruction provided by the Sericulture Department in the 1900s was intended to train each household in all aspects of sericulture.

While there is no clear documentary evidence to explain why the Siamese government took this view, two considerations undoubtedly were important. First, a major concern of the government in this period was the maintenance of internal social and political stability, which was regarded as essential for the preservation of the Kingdom's independent status in the face of severe pressure from neighbouring imperial powers.⁶³ In this context the authorities may well have wished to see a strengthening of long-established social and economic structures rather than their disruption. With regard to domestic silk production this would have implied restoring to its former vitality the existing pattern of essentially small-scale, self-contained producers, rather than possibly weakening the economic position of the peasant silk families by, for example, removing the reeling stage to a relatively few large-scale establishments. Second, it was almost inevitable that the establishment and initial operation of large-scale, specialist reeling concerns could have been carried out only by the government. It was certainly the case that during the early stages of the modernization of the Japanese silk industry the authorities had undertaken the direct promotion of such concerns.⁶⁴ But early in the twentieth century the Siamese government's very limited financial and administrative resources ruled out a high degree of state initiative and involvement. This consideration is elaborated below.

Since the government decided to promote only those technical innovations not involving substantial structural change in the silk industry, the inevitable implication was that Siamese silk would remain uncompetitive against imported silk, particularly Japanese silk, even were the sericulture programme to be carried through completely. Indeed, as noted earlier, this had been the clear implication of Toyama's initial report in 1902. The continued inability of domestic silk production to repel imports might have been overcome if the Siamese market had been protected by high import duties. Unfortunately this was beyond the power of the Siamese government to effect, for by the series of commercial treaties signed between Siam and the major world powers from 1855 the Kingdom's import duties were limited to 3% *ad valorem*.⁶⁵ The sericulture programme of the first 1900s decade could not guarantee eventual production of a quality and at a price comparable to that of other Asian silk production. Consequently the silk producers had little incentive to respond to the government's initiative.

There was a further basic economic consideration to which the Sericulture Department appears to have given relatively little thought in the first decade of the 1900s—whether sericulture should be promoted as the sole occupation of those peasants who engaged in it, or whether it should be regarded simply as providing a supplementary source of income to the peasant household. In Japan the raising of cocoons provided an important secondary income for a large number of farm households,⁶⁶ and Toyama appears to have favoured a similar development in Siam. For example, writing to Prince Phenphanataphong in September 1904, he

63. See Tej Bunnag, *The Provincial Administration of Siam, 1892-1915*, Kuala Lumpur, 1977.

64. G.C. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 66.

65. James C. Ingram, *Economic Change in Thailand, 1850-1970*, Stanford, 1971, p. 34. The commercial treaty between Siam and Japan was concluded in 1898.

66. On the eve of the First World War, almost one third of all Japanese farm households derived some supplementary income from sericulture. See William W. Lockwood, *The Economic Development of Japan*, London, 1955, p. 28.

suggested that the rice farmers of the Central Plain should be encouraged to engage in silk production as a supplementary employment during the slack season of the rice cycle.⁶⁷ But the Sericulture Department appears to have ignored this suggestion, preferring to concentrate its activities on the northeast where, it was hoped, the local people would become committed almost solely to silk.

Such an approach faced a number of major difficulties.⁶⁸ It would have been difficult for the government to persuade the peasants of the northeast to expand a traditionally off-season activity into a full-time, cash-earning activity, no matter what visible incentives the government could offer. First, considering the market forces mentioned above, there was no clear prospect that Siamese producers would be supplying the major part of Siamese domestic demand. Given the continuing technical superiority of Japanese silk producers, in particular, such a prospect remained extremely dim, at least until Siam was free of its treaty obligations. Second, even if it is assumed that the silk producers of the northeast faced a secure and substantial domestic market, it does not necessarily follow that they would have increased production substantially. The poor quality of its soils and the marked inadequacy of water for irrigation make the Khorat plateau the least fertile region of Siam.⁶⁹ In addition, early in the twentieth century the communication network was extremely poor.⁷⁰ Rough dirt tracks, pitted and potholed during the dry season and reduced to a mire when the rains came, were the only means of communication between the scattered communities of the region. In these circumstances, where the cultivation of food crops was relatively precarious and where there were very considerable difficulties in bringing rice from other districts in the event of a local crop failure, the primary objective of many northeast villages undoubtedly would have been to secure basic food requirements. In this situation, no silk-producing community would allow an attempt to expand silk output to proceed to the point where its ability to cultivate most of its own food was threatened. Only if adequate food supplies could have been ensured for each community, either through increases in local production or supply from surplus districts, could the northeastern villagers have considered specialization in the production of silk.⁷¹

IV

In the context of these basic technical and economic considerations it is important to note two particular features of the Japanese silk industry, as it underwent modernization from the

67. Toyama to Prince Phenphanataphong, 29 September 1904, N.A.r.5. K.S. 8/2.

68. According to Ministry of Agriculture, *prawat krasuang kasēt (History of the Ministry of Agriculture)*, Bangkok, 1957, pp. 120-121, the failure of the sericulture programme was due in large measure to the government's determination that silk be adopted as the principal occupation of the peasantry, though the argument is not substantiated.

69. Charles A. Fisher, *South East Asia*, 2nd ed., London, 1966, p. 487.

70. H. Warington Smyth, *Five Years in Siam: From 1891 to 1896*, London, 1898. vol. 1, p. 233.

71. It is interesting to note that Michelle Burge McAlpin, in an article in the *Journal of Economic History* ("Railroads, prices, and peasant rationality: India, 1860-1900"; vol. 34 no. 3, September 1974, pp. 662-684), argues that in those areas of India where there was insufficient water for irrigation and where water transport was lacking, the need to store food against recurrent threats of famine constrained the peasantry from expanding non-food production at the expense of food cultivation.

middle of the nineteenth century⁷². First, from an early stage the Japanese authorities recognized a major difficulty facing an industry in which production was undertaken in a very large number of scattered peasant households: production of silk thread of a high and a uniform quality. This was essential if Japanese silk were to compete successfully overseas. It was also recognized that such uniformity could only be achieved through a relatively high degree of state intervention and regulation. Early in the 1870s the government encouraged the development of a separate reeling sector by undertaking the establishment and operation of two mills. The concentration of reeling into a relatively few specialized establishments clearly encouraged the production of a standardized thread, particularly when, towards the end of the century, the mills came to utilize powered machinery. It should also be noted that the introduction of mechanical reelers in turn made it necessary for the peasant silk families to produce cocoons of a more uniform quality. To this end the government not only fostered the use of improved methods in the rearing of worms, but also closely supervised the production of silkworm eggs by a system of official licensing of egg-raisers. Through direct intervention, and perhaps more particularly through regulation and supervision, the Japanese government made a fundamental contribution to the modernization of Japan's silk industry. Second, during the early stages of that modernization, in the 1850s and 1860s, there was a very strong world demand for silk, essentially because silkworm disease in Europe had greatly reduced French and Italian production. Moreover, when the European industry revived, the depreciation of the silver-based yen in the the last quarter of the nineteenth century facilitated increases in exports of Japanese silk.

Early in the twentieth century the silk producers of Siam were not blessed with a similary fortuitous rise in the external demand for their product. Indeed they were witnessing the erosion of their domestic market by imports, including imports from Japan,⁷³ whose competitive edge was being increased by continuing technical advance and the steady depreciation in the yen against the baht following Siam's abandonment of the silver standard in 1902.⁷⁴ But as noted earlier, the Siamese government could do nothing to protect local silk producers while the Kingdom's import duties remained fixed by international treaty.

Neither was it possible for the Siamese government to countenance the high degree of state

72. The following is based on G.C. Allen, *A Short Economic History of Modern Japan*, 3rd ed., London, 1972.

73. At this point further reference should be made to the difficulty of ascertaining the relative importance of Siam's suppliers of silk piece goods. As noted in footnote 4, the *British Diplomatic and Consular Reports* indicate that there was a substantial import of silk cloth from Japan. At the same time it is virtually impossible to determine what proportion of silk piece-good imports from China into Siam were for domestic consumption. In this context it should be noted that according to one authority, silk production in Cochin-China in this period was declining "in competition with manufacture of finer fabrics made chiefly from Chinese silk" (Charles Robequain, *The Economic Development of French Indo-China*, London, 1944, p. 244). It is possible that despite the technical domination of Japan's silk producers in the East, Japanese silk cloth exports to Siam may well have fallen below those from China, principally because the Japanese would have wished to concentrate on the American market. However, in the present context, the major point is that the Siamese government was unable to protect the local silk market from imports, regardless of country of origin.

74. Having placed the baht on a gold-exchange standard in 1902, the Siamese authorities then gradually revalued the currency against gold until 1908. As the yen had been placed on a gold basis in 1897, this manoeuvre implied a devaluation of the yen against the baht. See Ian Brown, "Siam and the gold standard, 1902-1908", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, Sept. 1979.

intervention and regulation that was practised in Japan. The government was striving to undertake a major series of reforms and public works projects early in the twentieth century, placing a severe strain on the Kingdom's limited financial resources. To some extent this scarcity of resources resulted from the freezing of the major part of the Kingdom's tax structure by the international treaties referred to earlier. It also reflected the government's unwillingness, for political reasons, to borrow heavily on the European capital markets.⁷⁵ A more severe restraint on government action was the administrative weakness of a bureaucracy that was in the process of major reorganization along Western lines, and which was suffering from an acute shortage of skilled, competent personnel.⁷⁶ In the circumstances it is difficult to envisage the Siamese government effectively undertaking, for example, the licensing of silkworm egg production, the operation of large-scale reeling establishments, or, on a wider scale, the development of the economic infrastructure in the Khorat plateau that would provide a secure economic environment enabling the people of that region to specialize in silk production.

This paper has sought to argue that despite the strong commitment of the Siamese government to the modernization of the northeastern Thai silk industry, in practice the authorities could do little to create the conditions under which an indigenous industry would flourish. The sericulture programme foundered not because the northeast peasants were apathetic;⁷⁷ nor was it a case of peasant interest being smothered by an overbearing provincial administration. The programme failed because of a number of crucial constraints which were imposed on the authorities. Fear of social dislocation might well have been important in accounting for the government's decision to pursue limited technical change in the local industry. Governmental reforms in other areas implied a severe restriction on the financial and manpower resources which could be devoted to the sericulture programme. And finally Siam's international treaty obligations implied not only a severe limitation on the government's ability to raise revenue but also, of crucial importance, denied Siamese silk producers protection from other silk producers in the East. In the last analysis it was this exposure to the rigours of the international economy that determined the magnitude of silk production in Siam.

75. These considerations are discussed in Ian Brown, "The Ministry of Finance and the early development of modern financial administration in Siam, 1885-1910", Ph.D. diss., London, 1975.

76. *Ibid.* See also Tej Bunnag, *The Provincial Administration of Siam, 1892-1915*, Kuala Lumpur, 1977; and David K. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform in Thailand: Education in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn*, New Haven, 1969.

77. It should be added that, despite the experience and views of the Siamese government in the 1900s, there is no reason to suggest that the northeastern peasants were apathetic. There is ample historical evidence that throughout southeast Asia the peasantry were markedly responsive to economic opportunities. (From a large body of literature, see in particular, Michael Adas, *The Burma Delta: Economic Development and Social Change on an Asian Rice Frontier, 1852-1941*. Madison, 1974, chaps. 2, 3; James C. Ingram, *Economic Change in Thailand 1850-1970*, Stanford, 1971, chap. 3; Lim Teck Ghee, *Peasants and their Agricultural Economy in Colonial Malaya, 1874-1941*, Kuala Lumpur, 1977, chap. 3.) The crucial consideration in the Siamese case is that the Government could give the silk producers of the northeast no clear economic opportunity to which they could respond.

ANNUAL NON-BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES OF MAE HONG SON SHAN

by

PAUL E. DURRENBERGER*

Thai know them as Thai Yai; Burmese and English as Shan; they call themselves Tai Long. In the village of Thongmakhsan in Mae Hong Son Province, Shan cultivate rice in irrigated fields in the bottom of a narrow valley and in swiddens in the neighboring hills. Thongmakhsan is a poor village of only about 38 households. All the people are devout Buddhists. Spiro (1967 : 3) writes :

Wherever it is found, Buddhism is accompanied by some other religious. . . system. In Burma and in the other countries of Southeast Asia, the latter system comprises a folk religion which postulates the existence of 'supernatural' beings and which includes a set of rituals relating to them.

In addition to Buddhist observances, the people of Thungmakhsan participate in several non-Buddhist religious events during the year. Some of these, such as the propitiation of the "rice soul", are individual or household observances. Others are for particular groups within the village, such as the propitiation of the swidden spirit which is done by all those households which make swiddens in the same area, or the propitiation of the valley spirits which is done by all those who release buffalos, when they are not being used to prepare irrigated fields, into the valleys to forage. Still other ceremonies, such as repairing the country and repairing the village, are for the whole village. All of these ceremonies are regular annual events. In this article I describe only the annual non-Buddhist ceremonies and related interpretations and stories.

Some, but not all of the households propitiate the soul of rice (*khon khau*). Early in August Can Tha and his young daughter went to one of their irrigated fields to "begin rice" (*hik khau*). Cushing (1914 : 637) translates *hik* as "to begin a work; to begin by doing a little, because it is declared to be an auspicious day". Can Tha had selected a Monday as auspicious since his daughter was born on a Monday. He had experimented with different days in the past. Can Tha selected one section of the plowed field surrounded by bunds, and cleaned and puddled the mud in the northwestern corner. He said, "I have come to begin rice. Let it be lucky, let there be no insects or pests. Let what I do be successful."

He placed a star-like, open, braided bamboo "spirit screen" on a stick (*ta leu*) at each corner of the two-foot area of the section of the field he had cleaned, and then placed a shelf on a stick at the northwest corner. On the shelf he put a candle and a banana-leaf packet of rice, coconut and a banana slice. At the base of the shelf, on the ground, he placed two joss-sticks, a candle and a packet containing rice, coconut and a banana slice upside down while he prayed:

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Tsau hong (lord of the canal), *tsau hoi* (lord of the valley), *tsau loi* (lord of the hill), spirits of the forest, today is a good day to plant. Let it become better; let the insects not bite; let the animals not destroy; let the caterpillars and mosquitos not bite. Let it be better than last time. *Tō lin* (lord of the earth) please help. Today I come to plant rice. Let it be better than last time. Let it be good, let it be successful. *Tsau wan* (lord of the village), *tsau mōng* (lord of the country), *phi pong pa* (spirit of the forest) help it be good in the future. Let the rice soul (*khon khau*) be fertile. Please help.

He then hung a small bundle of kapok from each spirit screen and had his daughter plant eight rice seedlings. He made a small fence with bamboo strips using the four spirit screens as corners.

Some time after this, the field can be transplanted. Many fields have spirit houses, small houses on stakes. They are places to make offerings to *tsau lin*, the earth spirit, who guards the fields. In December, when rice is harvested, the rice from the first ceremonial planting is gathered and kept separately from the rest. Harvesters move through the fields cutting shocks of rice with sickles and placing the shocks on the rice stubble to dry. Later, they collect the rice shocks and pile them into tall mounds. The farmer then clears one area of the ricefield near the rice pile and plasters the earth with a mixture of buffalo dung and mud which dries to form a smooth threshing floor. He pulls out the spirit house and puts it on top of the rice pile with the soul-of-rice plants in it.

Pō Thau Ti prepared an enamel tray with a bowl of cooked rice, a glass of water, two eggs, a bowl of biscuits, two bananas, two bundles of steamed sticky rice and two slices of cooked pumpkin, and presented it at the base of the rice stack while praying:

Pu tsai khai nai tsai khai, please come. Today I will thresh rice. Let us have many baskets. Let there be much rice soul. If we receive twenty lang [large baskets of two hundred and twenty-four litres] I will offer to you again. There are thirty-two souls of rice. All come together. Please let us pick up rice in the storage basket at the house. This year let it be better than before, pu tsai khai nai tsai khai.

He placed the tray on top of the rice pile and then prayed at each corner of the threshing floor, starting in the southwestern corner while he placed a banana-leaf bowl with cooked rice, a piece of banana and a piece of biscuit at each. At the southwestern corner he prayed:

Today we will open the rice stack. All bad spirits [*phi ho phi hang kat*; informants explained this meant spirits without heads, without tails] please do not come to my threshing floor here. Let me receive many baskets of rice.

At the southeast corner he prayed:

Tsau nam tsau lin (lord of water, lord of earth) come here from every place. I will open the rice stack so let me have soul (*mi khon mi phi*) to receive much rice from this time. Let it be better than before.

At the northeast corner he prayed:

Phi hsi tseing (spirit of the four corners) please come. Let me have soul (*mi khon mi phi*). Let me receive more rice than before. All bad spirits (*phi am li tang long*) do not come to this place. Let me have enough rice to eat and to offer.

The fourth prayer, at the northwest corner was:

Let me receive more rice and let it be better than before. Bad spirits please do not come to my place here. Let me have rice to eat and to offer. Let it be better than before. *Phi ho phit hang kat*, please do not come.

The old man made a brief prayer and lit two homemade candles, and placed them in front of the rice stack. After the candles had burned down and went out, the old man's son climbed to the top of the rice stack and began tossing bundles of rice down to begin threshing.

While the candles were burning down we drank tea in the field house, and the old man told the following story.

The rice soul and the Buddha argued as to which was more powerful. Each said he was more powerful. There was no one to arbitrate between them or to pacify them. The rice soul ran away from the Buddha thinking, "I will show you who is more powerful", and went into a dark country.

On the way the rice soul met a fish and said, "If the Buddha follows me, do not tell him I am going to the dark country. If you tell him, you will die."

The Buddha stayed in the human realm and followed the Buddhist precepts (*hsin*). But he could not follow the disciplines or duties without rice. So he said, "Perhaps the rice soul is more powerful", and followed the rice soul to call it to come back. On the way he met the fish and said, "Did you see the rice soul go this way?"

The fish thought, "I must answer. This is the highest one of the human existence. If I lie it is an offense (*phit*) against the duties (*hsin*). I must therefore answer truthfully. But if I do that, I will die. All right, I am willing to die rather than offend the duties and the Buddha."

The fish said, "The rice soul went to the dark country."

The Buddha followed and arrived there. It was so dark he could not see anything. The rice soul came out and the two fought. At that time the soul of rice was very large. But those two fought a long time so the rice soul became as small as it is today. The rice soul went back to the human world, it followed the Buddha and the two returned.

The Buddha visited the fish and asked, "Where is that fish?" and the others said, "He died after you left." The Buddha said, "I am sorry." The other fish offered the dead one to the Buddha so each year at the fifth month—this was in the fifth month—people offer dry fish to the Buddha.

Then the Buddha went to the human realm and checked. He said, "The rice soul is more powerful than I", so he marked the young rice leaves with his hand. The marks on the young rice leaves are there from the Buddha's hand.

Another villager told an abbreviated version of the story on another occasion. The rice soul said it was more important than the Buddha because people need to eat rice to live. The Buddha said it was not more important because all people respect the Buddha. The rice soul ran away and at the end the Buddha said, "You are more important than I", and marked the leaves.

Later I heard the story of *pu tsai khai nai tsai khai*. Long ago there were a husband and wife who were very poor but made irrigated fields each year for a living. One year after they had finished threshing rice, they carried it home each day. *Pu tsai kai nai tsai kai* looked like cranes or storks, and came and laid eggs on the pile of threshed rice. These eggs became much rice, and the rice increased. Every day the two people carried rice but the pile of rice did not diminish. Each day *pu tsai khai nai tsai khai* laid eggs, and increased the rice. The man said "Why is it like this? I carry rice every day and it is never finished." He went to the rice pile and checked. He hid and saw the two storks lay eggs and saw the eggs become rice. He said, "This is amazing", but he was very lazy and did not want to carry rice every day. He took a bamboo pole for carrying rice and killed the two birds and buried them in his field. Then he went home and checked his storage baskets and saw all of the rice was gone and he had only the rice from his fields. He was very sorry. Every year, after that, he called the *pu tsai khai nai tsai khai* to come to his fields and lay their eggs in his rice. People do this now before they start to thresh rice. *Pu tsai khai nai tsai khai* are the same as *khon khau*, the rice soul. *Pu tsai khai nai tsai khai* were the body of the spirit.

People who propitiate the rice soul keep the shock of rice from the original first planting separately, and do not thresh it. When they have filled the storage baskets at the houses, they place this shock of rice plants inside.

Early in January villagers feed the spirits of the valleys and the hill fields. They call this *leing phi*. Cushing (1914 : 571) translates *leing* as to feed or nourish or cherish; to give a meal, feed; and *leing phi* as to offer to the spirits. Many households make hill fields either because they have no irrigated fields or because they need to supplement the rice they get from their irrigated fields. Some people put a spirit screen in their swiddens to indicate they are human places so spirits will not destroy them. People who have water buffalos turn them into the forest to forage for themselves until they are needed for plowing the irrigated fields again. People's swiddens are close together in several areas. They feed the *hai* (swidden) spirit at each area. They selected the day of the chicken, a day spirits are supposed to eat chickens, for these offerings.

Five people who made swiddens in one area went to the swidden area and prepared an altar. They made a bamboo framework and covered it with banana leaves. They supported one end of the altar on a log and the other on sticks. They made a small ladder with five rungs on the front of the altar. They put cooked hill rice, snacks, sweet rice, a broken peeled banana, purchased banana-leaf cigarettes, pickled tea (Yuan, Thai : *miang*), sticky rice from irrigated fields, beeswax candles and white wax candles all on a plate. They put the plate on the altar with a cup of water (on the left side) and a cup of liquor (on the right side). One of the men held two chickens to his forehead and then slit their throats. The chickens were plucked, tied, cooked, and put on the altar again. There were no prayers.

Meanwhile another group of people gathered in a nearby valley and built an altar with a five-runged ladder under a banyan tree. They prepared two banana-leaf trays with offerings like the ones for the spirit of the swiddens, and placed one on the altar and one under it. The one on the altar was for the forest spirit, and the one on the ground for the earth spirit,

tsau lin. The officiant made a brief and inaudible prayer before placing each tray. He took a similar tray to the stream and offered it to the stream spirit:

Hsa thu hsa thu, tsau hoi kha han, tsau hoi keu long, tsau hoi mi long, tsau hoi mi ong, tsau hoi phi long, tsau hoi ka ling (lords of named valleys) come meet together here. We come to feed you offerings (*hsqm*). We come to leave buffalos in your care, all the buffalos in Thongmakhsan. Now, we come to feed you. You should come receive our offerings (*hsqm*), all spirits of the valleys here. I also call all the spirits of the valleys and the streams. *tsau hoi kiu long, tsau hoi kha han, tsau hoi kan, tsau hoi nam kok*, please come. Now I call all the spirits; please do not say I did not call all. From now we ask to be well and have good appetites, people and animals. Let our cows and buffalos not be destroyed by disease. From this time let us not be strangers, let us be friends. This year you helped us to care for the buffalos, we are happy for this. We thank you. So we come and offer to you, spirits, and you should come receive our offerings (*hsqm tq*), rice and curry. In the future please be friendly like this year. Please remember us, do not forget us. Let it be better than before. Let us be well, every person, male and female livestock. Please. *Hsa thu*.

He then returned to the altar and held two live chickens and prayed in a similar way. He cut their throats and bled them onto the altar and steps. One of the men added to the altar a lamp and a loaded opium pipe with some powdered aspirin and a small mixing cup. The officiant lit candles on the offering in the stream and others prepared a banner of bamboo splints woven together to form a long strip. They tied the banner to a pole. They explained this was a banner like the ones used at the temple after a ceremony. Others cooked the chickens and drank liquor. The people explained that everyone must drink liquor; not to drink is an offense (*phit*) against the valley spirit. The officiant was the servitor of the lord of the country. It is one of his duties to officiate at this offering. The officiant then offered the cooked chickens at the altar with a similar prayer.

The officiant removed the liquor cup from the altar and passed it around. The people then took the food from the offerings to a field house in the swidden area where people had made offerings to the swidden spirit, and joined them to eat and drink.

Each village has a fenced compound inside which is a small house which contains an altar for *tsau möng*, the lord of the country. Cushing (1914 : 170) translates *tsau möng* as the ruler of a country, or a spirit supposed to have rule over a country.

Tsau möng belongs to the village and takes care of the villagers. I could find no evidence of a mythology that connects *tsau möng* with any person who ever lived, past rulers or the like. A Shan from the Shan States told me *tsau möng* was a leader or conqueror, an important person. When the person died, his spirit did not die, so people offer to him. He said in Hsenwi there are three *tsau möng*, *tsau möng long* (big *saw mung*) *tsau möng kang* (middle *tsau möng*), *tsau möng qn* (small *tsau möng*). He did not know their names but said *tsau möng long* was the first *tsau pha* (prince) of Hsenwi, but knew nothing of the other two. *Tsau möng* is held to be the most powerful spirit, the same in rank as the Buddha, both inferior to rice. Villagers agreed that *tsau möng* and the Buddha belong to very different spheres, however. The Buddha pertains to monks and merit-making, while *tsau möng* protects people from evil spirits. This function is not related to the monks or to Buddhism. Some villagers pointed to the use of liquor and animal offerings for spirits in contrast to Buddhist practices. Each village selects a *phu möng* to serve the *tsau möng*. Here there was some difference in terminology. One man in

the role labeled it *kon yip möng*, man who holds the country. He said that a *phu möng* properly is a *ti nang phi* (literally, a "spirit seat", one through whom a spirit speaks). Others said that *phu möng* and *kon yip möng* are different names for the same role, that a person through whom *tsau möng* speaks is called *ti nang tsau möng*. People select someone who knows "spirit words", the prayers for *tsau möng* to be *phu möng*. If he wants to resign, he tells the headman and the people select a new one. I asked a former *phu möng* why he had resigned. He answered:

I became old and did not want to kill chickens for the offerings; people who are old need to follow the precepts (*hsin*) of Buddhism and it is not good to do this, take life and use liquor. It is against the disciplines, so it is not suitable for old people. When I resigned, people selected someone who was younger.

People say there are 32 *tsau möng*. Each village is associated with a named *tsau möng*. The *phu möng* invokes this *tsau möng* and perhaps others, and asks them to invite the others. Several villages may be associated with a single *tsau möng*, each with a separate *tsau möng* house and *phu möng*.

The *phu möng* keeps the *tsau möng*'s belongings—a mattress, pillow, white shirt, white trousers, white handkerchiefs, white sheet, red sash—and lays them out in the *tsau möng* house every holy day, *wan hsin* (literally, "day of discipline"). The *phu möng* I talked to attributed no especial meaning to these things, said they were only old-style Shan clothes. Every *wan hsin* the *phu möng* also changes the flowers and water at the *tsau möng* house, makes an offering to the Buddha, and offers flowers and rice to *tsau möng*. He calls the *tsau möng* from every place, presents the offerings, lights a candle and waits until the candle burns down. If the *phu möng* does not know the name of the *tsau möng* he can address him as the *tsau möng* of that place. The *phu möng* invites the *tsau möng* to the temple on *wan hsin*. Some say the *tsau möng* stays in the temple and observes the disciplines on *wan hsin* even though people often do not. People, for instance, often hunt on *wan hsin*; *tsau möng* keeps the precepts. The *phu möng* also makes an offering at the temple on behalf of the villagers each *wan hsin* because no one can make offerings every *wan hsin*.

On 12 May there was a village meeting. At the meeting the *phu möng* announced the date of the ceremony to "repair the country", *mei möng leing möng*. He said that while the ceremony was in progress someone would have to stay at the head and foot of the village and not allow any vehicles to pass on the road while the offerings were being made. The group selected people to stop the traffic.

Can Ta explained that bad spirits follow cars and horses, and disease will follow anything one carries from another place. People have to wait outside the village and not allow anyone to come in when the villagers feed *tsau möng*. If the people offer liquor and chickens, *tsau möng* and the spirits come to eat and are happy and distracted. During this time they cannot take care of the village, so while they are eating we have to be sure to keep bad things and sickness out of the village. During this time the spirits cannot take care of us, we are defenseless. Suppose an important person wants to pass through the village. He must pay for all the liquor and offerings and then he can go. The villagers then have to make a new offering, and offer new liquor and chickens and start again. *Tsau möng* always takes care of the people and buffalos

and fields, so we thank him one time each year. The seventh month is the best time, but some villages do it on different days, or in different months. The *phu möng* of another village explained that people here offer chickens and liquor; people in other places offer only sweets and rice. The purpose of the ceremony is for everyone to be well, get more rice, to insure success, and to give the village power (glory) (*phung*).

The ceremony was late in May. Early in the morning the *phu möng* prepared the *tsau möng* house. Each household brought a chicken tied on a string, a bottle of liquor, and a tray with flowers and snacks on it. The chickens were tied to the fence on the south side; the other offerings were handed up to the *phu möng* who arranged the altar. The *phu möng* offered the offerings at the *tsau möng* altar, then the chickens were killed and two temporary altars were prepared, at the northeast corner and the southeast corner of the compound. On each was a bowl of flowers and joss-sticks and a tray with snacks and cooked rice, a cup of water and one of liquor, candles and a bottle of liquor hung from the front. A similar altar was prepared east of the *tsau möng* compound under a tree. These three altars were for *tsau möng*'s followers--his children, grandchildren, nephews and helpers.

The chickens were cooked in a pot over a fire outside the compound. Two chickens were put on each altar. The *phu möng* offered to *tsau möng*. People changed the liquor and water in the cups on the altars and lit candles. While the *phu möng* offered to *tsau möng*, another man offered to the other spirits at the temporary altars. The *phu möng* prayed:

Hsa thu, hsa thu. I offer tsau nq kham leng [name of tsau möng of Huai Pha, a nearby village]; tsau khop mü leik (name of tsau möng of Mae Hong Son town); tsau khop mü tsong, tsau pa tsau long (lord of the forest); tsau pau hsi tseing pet na hsi na pet phai (lord who guards the four corners, eight sides, four sides, eight parts); tsau tham keing lau (lord of Chiengdao Cave); tsau tsong phök thi khau (lord of the white umbrella); tsau mau tsau hsau (lord of unmarried men and women); tsau nq lei pa khun hsikkya mang hsam hsip pai hsam (the four quarter-guardian 'stars' of Lord Indra of the 33 gods). We, the village of Thongmakhsan, all the village, young and old, large and small, cattle and buffalos are dependent on you, obliged to you. Tsau, come receive offerings of rice [khau hsqm tq]. Please support us from now, we of the village of Thongmakhsan, all the village, big and small, young and old, cattle and buffalos depend on you. Please prevent all the 33 diseases, let us be healthy and have good appetites from now. Let it be better than before, please. Let whatever work we do be profitable. So we can eat, so we can offer, let our trade be successful, let our selling be successful. Young and old, big and small come together and support us. Let the tsau who cannot hear and who do not know not say anything, please. Hsa thu, hsa thu, come receive and use, support us please. Eat and be happy. Let it be better than before. Let your mind be white like the white of cotton from now on [be generous]. Let it be better than before tsau. Hsa thu, hsa thu.

After the prayer, after the candles had burned down, the *phu möng* distributed the offerings to the people. The food was distributed among the crowd. Some took it home to eat; some ate near the *tsau möng* house. People explained that food from the offerings was like medicine: "If you eat it, you will not be sick." Young men drank liquor and began a shooting match. By late morning, most of the people had dispersed.

Ten people had gone into one of the valleys to make a similar offering to the valley spirits.

Many ceremonies contain both Buddhist and non-Buddhist elements. Inside the temple compound are posts with shelves. As part of Buddhist offerings, people light candles and place small offerings on these shelves. They explained that these were for *tsau nam* (lord of the water), *tsau lin* (lord of earth), *tsau wan* (lord of the village), *tsau na* (lord of irrigated fields). Repairing the village is an observance which involves monks' chanting, directed at clearing each household and the village of evil spirits.

In each village there is a tall tower used in the ceremony to repair the village, *mei wan*. At the end of May each household prepares a basket of firewood, unmilled rice, candles, a spirit screen (*ta leu*), matches, sand, string, a bucket of water and soap berries. A villager explained, "After the monks chant, we put the string around the whole house, including the buffalo pen, then light candles everywhere. It will make us be well and have good appetites. We use the firewood to cook rice, and use the rice and sand to drive out bad spirits and use the spirit screen to keep out bad spirits."

Some men cleaned the area near the tower and repaired the tower, put up new shingles made from leaves braided onto bamboo sticks, and decorated each upper corner of the tower with banana leaves. A person from each household placed a basket under the tower. Some people made three small rockets about three inches long on the foot "tails" of bamboo. About three o'clock in the afternoon they shot the rockets, all of which exploded. The two tables from the temple were brought to the tower and people placed flowers and popped rice on them as they do in the temple.

At about half past three o'clock the monks and novices from nearby villages ascended the tower and the villagers clustered below. The headman and *phu möng* and another elder ascended the tower with the monks. In a nearby tree were four small baskets with offerings for bad spirits. People handed the tables of flowers up to the tower. The monks sat along the west side of the tower with buckets of water and a basket of rice, bananas and a coconut in front of them. A Buddha image was on the south wall of the tower with the two tables of flowers. A string ran from the Buddha image through the monks' hands and around the water buckets and basket. The basket was filled with unmilled rice; inside it was a basin of milled rice. On the milled rice were two green bananas with a coconut in the middle. A lit candle was on the coconut. A paper umbrella was on the side of the basin. The monks recited the duties and chanted for about 20 minutes. The senior monk extinguished the candle in the water and the monks took up the string. The senior monk then sprinkled the people with water and the people poured water from small vessels they were holding onto the ground (*yat nam*) as they do in the temple. The monks descended the tower and people collected their baskets from below the tower.

About 15 men carried the two sets of baskets from the tree, poles with a basket at each end, through the village to the south. Each basket contained packets of tea, milled and unmilled rice, seeds, and clay buffalo effigies. The last man broadcast sand and shouted:

'*Hoi, hoi*', go to another place, go to the big country, go to town, go to Möng Pai, go, go. Eat unmilled rice, eat milled rice. Come on, go, go. Eat good food. Go, go. All good food. '*Hoi, hoi*'.

Another man beat a gong. The men would not let small children join the procession. The men passed a bottle of liquor. At about 300 yards outside the village, the men erected two forked sticks on each side of the road and placed the poles on them with a basket hanging from either end.

People bathed and washed their hair with shampoo made from soapberries, limes and bark. They put the strings around the roofs of the houses and used the new firewood from the ceremony to cook. After supper they took buckets of water and splashed their houses with it. They scattered the sand around the compounds and put up the new spirit screens. This completed repairing the village.

Larger and richer villages sponsored rocket festivals. Since Thongmakhsan is a small and poor village we may suppose that the ceremonies I have described are the minimal non-Buddhist observances. Some do not observe even these. Some have no tower and do not observe the ceremony to repair the village. The present headman of Thongmakhsan claims credit for introducing the ceremony there. He said he saw it in larger and more prosperous villages and concluded that the performance of the ceremony would contribute to the prosperity of Thongmakhsan.

I noticed no spirit-houses in house compounds or ceremonies involving house spirits. When I inquired, people told me this was a Yuan (Northern Thai) custom which Shan do not share, that they "do not know the story of this one".

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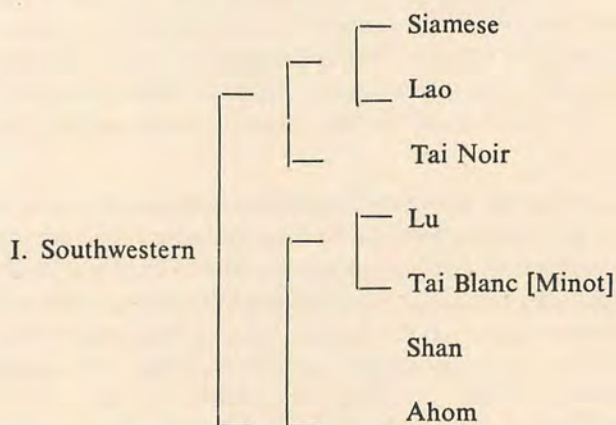
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A MODEL FOR THE ALIGNMENT OF DIALECTS IN SOUTHWESTERN TAI

by

JOHN F. HARTMANN*

This article is an exercise in linguistic geography encompassing the region of Southwestern Tai, the term used by F.K. Li (1959) in his work on the classification of Tai languages. In Li (1960) there is a concluding sketch of the subdivisions within Southwestern Thai that is of note. Redrawn, it looks like the one below.

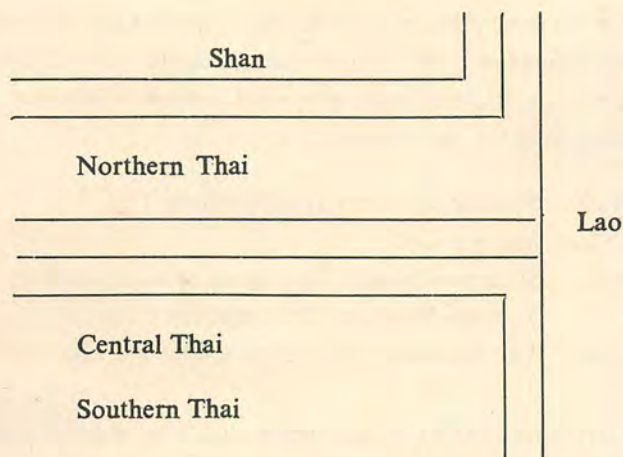


While it is only a rough sketch for which the details had not yet been worked out, it is interesting to see the close connection between Siamese and Lao clearly drawn.

Perhaps the next most significant attempt at subcategorization of Southwestern Thai was the work of Brown (1965). He used two diagrams, one showing mutual intelligibility and another diagramming the lines of historical development of the modern dialects from an ancient source in Yunnan. His picture of degrees of similarity between modern dialects appears as follows. The fewer the number of lines between dialects indicates greater "contact type similarities".

Brown's chart is designed to show rough geographical relationships as well as degrees of mutual intelligibility. Accordingly, as a measure of degree of contact, Lao is only once removed from Northern Thai but twice from Central and Southern. Central Thai is thrice removed from Northern and five times from Shan, etc.

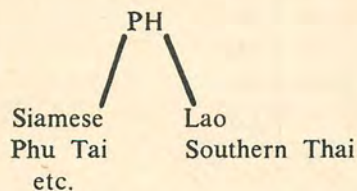
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In the reference sheets to the same work, Brown offers a sketch of the 'family tree' (p. 179) of modern Thai dialects, wherein it is shown that Shan and Central Thai, contrary to what appears in his diagram of contact similarities, are from an earlier Chieng Saen branch while Lao emerged as an offshoot of a Yunnan parent, the sister of the Chieng Saen branch *ca.* 1150 A.D. According to the same genealogy, too complex to replicate here, Southern Thai broke off even earlier, separating from a Yunnanese sister language *ca.* 950 A.D. History and geography do not coincide in Brown's scheme, and he is careful to point this out.

Since—and even before—Brown published his reconstruction of ancient Thai, most scholars have rejected the hypothesis of a Yunnan homeland for the parent language. It is generally accepted now that the origin of Proto-Tai is somewhere in the region around the border of the north of Viet Nam and China. Thus, it is all the more appropriate that Li gave the label "Southwestern" to the dialects under study here. It indicates the general direction of the migration of the Tai peoples: west and south, over a fan-shaped area.

A more recent classification of Southwestern Tai in Chamberlain (1975) shows still another set of permutations between Siamese, Lao and Southern Thai. In it a clear Lao-Southern Thai link is established in opposition to a separate branch for Siamese and other dialects. Accordingly:



In view of the foregoing, we might pause to ask a question which brings a focus, or at least a beginning point, to the study of the alignment of dialects in Southwestern Tai. With Siamese (Central Thai) as the focal point, we might ask where it stands *vis-à-vis* surrounding dialects. In Haas (1958), for example, the tonal system of Siamese is regarded as a reduction of

the Chiangmai array, but "in most other respects Siamese and Nakhon-Sithammarat are much closer than Siamese and Chiangmai". We can now summarize the views of four linguists on the relationship of Siamese to other dialects, bearing in mind that each author used quite different approaches. In chronological order, the arguments are:

- Haas: Siamese-Southern Thai/Northern Thai
 Li: Siamese-Lao
 Brown: Siamese-Southern Thai (geographical, contact)
 Siamese-Northern Thai (genetic)
 Chamberlain: Lao-Southern Thai; Siamese-Phu Tai, etc.

Turning now to Hartmann (1976a), it was shown that Lao, Siamese and Southern Thai were one continuous group standing in opposition to the remaining dialects to the north, further divided into two major subgroups. The three major divisions were arrived at primarily by using Haudricourt's notion of bipartition and tripartition, reinforced by other phonological changes held in common. Accordingly, areas that underwent two-way and then three-way splitting allow us to "understand not only Bangkok Thai but the Lao dialects (including Northeastern Thai) and those of southern Thailand as well. These three areas have all participated in tripartition..." (p. 47).

Points within the three dialect areas were then listed. They included areas outside of the Southwestern Tai zone as well.

I. **Zone of tripartition:** High vs. Mid vs. Low
 (Siamese written consonants)

	A	B	C		Found in:
ph				High	Luang Prabang Loei Vientiane
p, b				Mid	Roi Et Ubon Khorat
ph				Low	Bangkok Chumphon Sack

A more detailed view of determining the patterns of tonal splitting in modern dialects of Tai is provided by the following display. It is based on the matrix developed by Gedney (1964, 1973). The only refinement added is a fifth division, following Li (1977).

*INITIALS	PROTO-TAI TONES					
	A	B	C	D-s	D-l	
*VL						
Aspirated voiceless stops *ph-*th-*kn-*ch-*h-						-----
Voiceless continuants *s-*f-*hm-*hn-*h-ŋ*hñ- *hw*-*hr-*hl-						High
Unaspirated voiceless stops *p-*t-*k-*c-						----- -----
Glottalized consonants *ʔb-*ʔd-*ʔy-*ʔ						Mid
*VD						-----
Voiced consonants *b-*d-*g-*j*m-*n- *ŋ-*ñ-*z-*v-*ɣ-*r- *l-*w-*y-						----- ----- Low

Key: A B C = Proto-Tai tones on smooth syllables, i.e. those ending in a vowel, nasal or glide.
D-s D-l = dead-short vowel; dead-long vowel. A dead or checked syllable ends in a stop:
-p -t -k -ʔ

High, Mid, Low = classes of modern Siamese initial consonants as defined in the writing system.

*VL *VD = voiceless / voiced initials at the time of bifurcation.

According to this chart, bifurcation or two-way splitting divides the three PT tones A, B, C into six, along the lines *vd (voiced) versus *vl (voiceless initials at the time of the split). Or, following the Siamese writing system, the two-way split puts the High-Mid in one class and the Low in another as determinants of modern tones.

Similarly, trifurcation or three-way splitting, in the case of the Lao-Siamese-Southern Thai group at least, divides the initials along the lines of High, Mid, Low, thus creating a possible maximum of nine tones on live or smooth syllable. No modern dialect of course has this many tones. Various tones (allotones at the early stage of the split) collapsed to reduce the number to as many as seven in Southern Thai and a few as four in Northeastern Thai.

The geographic spread of the dialects in Southwestern Tai that appear to have trifurcated cover the southernmost or lowest region of the Southwestern domain. Henceforth this group of dialects shall be referred to as Lower Southwestern Tai. Later, we shall see that there is a Middle and Upper Southwestern Tai group.

In addition to their having undergone a common tripartition, the dialects of Lower Southwestern Tai hold at least two other phonological changes in common. First is the progression of **vd* > *vl* (stage I) > aspirates (stage II). The second change is a lengthening of vowels, a process which appears to be of recent entry and is spreading northward into the Middle Southwestern Tai group at least. The emergence of the modern Low aspirate series from **voiceless consonants* is viewed here as the mechanism for triggering tripartition. That is, as the High (**aspirated voiceless stops*) and the Low aspirates began to merge in the modern Lower Southwestern dialects, homophony had to be avoided. This could be achieved by a reinterpretation of the tones in the High series to carry a new functional load lost in the merger of the High and Low aspirates. In summary, the progression from bipartition to tripartition and vowel lengthening appears as a feeding relation.

1. **vd* > *vl* (stage I)
2. Bipartition: High-Mid vs. Low
3. *vl* > Low aspirates (stage II)
4. Tripartition: High vs. Mid vs. Low
5. Vowel lengthening

Vowel lengthening is viewed as a subsequent development in Southwestern Tai. Quite possibly it is not involved in the obvious feeding relationship expressed in steps 1 to 4, and may have preceded or accompanied step 4. Following Li (1977), vowel length was not distinctive in Proto-Tai.

Following the argument in Brown (1965), the Lower Southwestern Tai dialects are viewed as having reached a contour stage in their development. In turn this has led to step 5 or vowel lengthening in these dialects. For further discussion of step 5 see Hartmann (1976b). The historical development of the Tai vowel system is detailed in Sarawit (1973) and Li (1977).

If it is granted that Lower Southwestern Tai can be defined by using the preceding five steps, it should be possible to draw an isogloss separating the Lower group from the remaining Southwestern dialects. Map 1 (at end of article) shows the line of demarcation. The line is really a 'floating' isogloss. By that it is meant that it may need adjustment as new data come in, or as correction of errors and omissions is called for. Too, as a geo-linguistic frontier, it is a zone of great change and variation, especially as regards vowel length.

For example, Egerod (1971) describes a great deal of variation of vowel length in Northern Thai just north of the isogloss. Mundhenk (1967), in a study of the same general region, registers discomfort about vowel length, too. Finally, to the east in northern Laos, Gedney (1964) reports similar misgivings about vowel length in Red Tai, which is just above the isogloss. He states:

The list of Red Tai vowels is the same as for Black Tai. At this early stage of the investigation, however, it is not certain whether there is a distinction in vowel length in other vowels than /a/ versus /aa/ . . . The question is whether this [over-all vowel-length distinction] is really a Red Tai distinction or the result of contamination from Lao.

As we go north into northern Shan, Lue of Chieng Rung, White, Red and Black Tai, phonemic vowel length is definitely lost except for some small pockets. The data on vowel length suggest an isogloss between Lower and Middle-Upper Southwestern Tai just slightly north of the isogloss for the area of tripartition. Quite possibly, in some areas this isogloss for vowel length distinction could be allowed to float southward in some areas. For a look at its approximate position, see map 2.

We can now return to a more detailed discussion of delimiting dialect areas in Southwestern Tai based on bi- and tri-partition. The area of the latter has already been shown; the bulky evidence for calling this a zone of tripartition is presented toward the end of this article.

Here we begin to deal with the area of bipartition and a variant of bipartition, both of which represent separate subgroups of Southwestern Tai which I label Upper and Middle Southwestern Tai, respectively.

Simple bipartition can safely be assumed to have affected all branches and dialects of the Tai language family at some point in their history. In modern dialects this two-way split is preserved in the uppermost geographic reaches of Southwestern Tai, extending from western and northern varieties of Shan through Lue of Sipsongpanna and the Red, White and Black Tai mentioned earlier. The same type of simple bipartition extends even farther eastward through Western Nung, Nung, Lung Chao, Ning Ming, Wuming, dialects of Puyi South and Chuang. But for Southwestern Tai the following dialects are representative of the geographical spread, from east to west.

Bipartition: *vl versus *vd as found in:

	A	B	C	
ph				High
p, b				Mid
<hr/>				
p				Low

Red Tai
Black Tai
White Tai
Lue Chieng Tung (Li)
Lue Chieng Rung
Shan (north)

Lastly, the group of Middle Southwestern Tai groups shows a pattern of tonal array that is considered here a variant or minor adjustment of the bipartite Upper type. The pattern is displayed below alongside dialects representative of the geographical coverage.

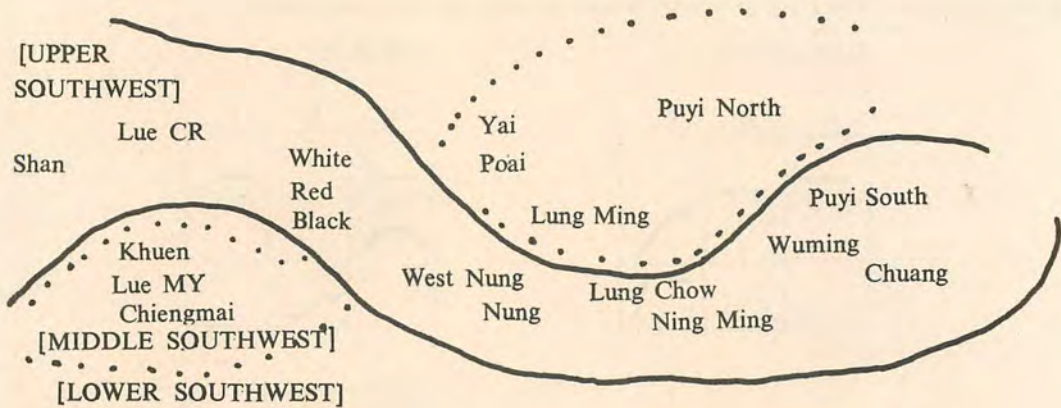
*vl friction and aspirates *versus*
 *preglottalized and voiced consonants
Variant bipartition: found in:

Shan Kengtung
 Khuen Kengtung
 Lue Moeng Yong
 Chiengrai
 Chiengmai
 Nan, Phrae
 Phayao, Tak

	A	B	C	
ph				High
p				Mid
b				
p				Low

It can be argued, as Haudricourt indeed does, that dialects of the Middle Southwestern type represent a three-way split rather than a variant of a two-way split. That point will not be contested here. It is only a minor point in this stage of the argument. The point at which the initials divide in the Middle group affects but few items in that it cuts across the A column only and moves only four initials into the *vd tonal category: *?b- *?d- *?y- *?. In this light, a split of this variety can be considered a minor adjustment of an original *vl/*vd split to account for the loss of a distinctive feature (pre-glottalization) in the series. Also, the Middle group did not participate in step 3, which was viewed as the mechanism triggering trifurcation. Vowel lengthening, step 5, where it does appear in the Middle group seems to be a recent innovation due most likely to the spread of Central Thai into the urban centers of northern Thailand. Finally, for the sake of convenience and clarity in later discussion of the case for tripartition in Lower Southwestern Thai, the Middle Southwestern Thai group is kept separate.

A split of the Mid class initials which may be related to the one found in Middle Southwestern Tai is also found in Yai, Poai, Lung Ming, and Puyi North. The details are presented in Hartmann (1976a). Here we merely note the connection and the relation of the Upper and Middle Southwestern Thai dialects to dialects to the east that show a similar history of tonal splits.



The dialects of Upper and Middle Southwestern Tai have split along the clearest lines. There seems to be little doubt about the unity of these two subgroups if examined from the standpoint of tonal splits. However, when we are pressed to demonstrate the unity of the Lower Southwestern group or Lao-Siamese-Southern Thai, the patterns of tonal development are not all that transparent. We proceed to examine the evidence presented in Hartmann (1976a) and Li (1977).

The clearest evidence of tripartition in Lower Southwestern Tai comes from the Southern Thai dialect at Nakhorn Sri Thammarat as recorded by Brown (1964) at dialect point 68. The three-way split runs completely through the three PT tones A B C. His chart shows that coalescence has taken place between B-C High and B-C Low, thus reducing the maximum of nine possible modern tones to seven. Only slightly different is the dialect at Yala, which has collapsed three allotones into one modern tone; the other six fill the remaining six cells. The tonal arrays of the two Southern dialects adapted from Brown (1964) appear below.

NAKORN SRI THAMMARAT

A	B	C

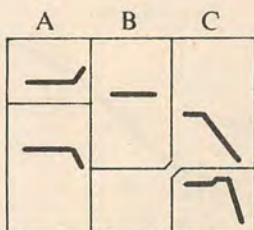
YALA

A	B	C	
			High
			Mid
			Low

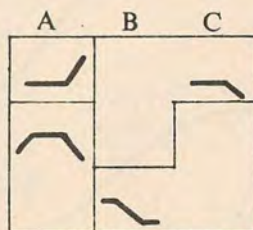
When we move into the Central Thai or Siamese region and look at the Bangkok tonal array, tripartition is not as immediately apparent. However, if we put the Bangkok array alongside the not-too-distant and mutually intelligible dialects of Khorat, Roi-Et and Ubon, a pattern of a three-way split followed by idiosyncratic arrangements for coalescence in each

dialect emerges. They are drawn by Brown approximately as seen below.

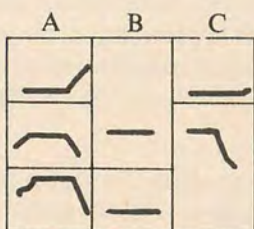
BANGKOK



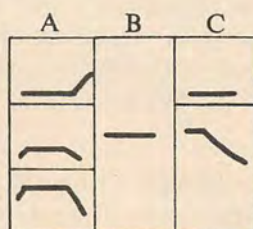
KHORAT



ROI-ET



UBON



It is especially illuminating to compare the A column of Bangkok with that of Roi-Et. Thanks to Brown's highly trained ear and commendable service of actually drawing out tonal contours, it appears that Roi-Et column A with its three-way split is beginning to resemble Bangkok A. Roi-Et's A-Mid and A-Low, both falling contours, seem to be verging close to coalescence, a process the Bangkok dialect went through at some earlier stage after tripartition.

From Bangkok to Vientiane and the northern limit of Southwestern Tai at Luang Prabang, there is also a shared development of a preference for coalescence in the B column, either B-Mid+High or B-Mid+High+Low, in the form of a register (Mid level) tone rather than a contour.

Similarly, A-High in these dialects shows a tendency toward a rising tone. Contrary to sentiments voiced by some students of comparative Tai, the actual shapes of tones can provide highly illuminating information on the development of tones in Tai dialects. Brown's presentation of his data, with charts showing individually drawn tonal shapes, is a model which should be emulated by all Tai field linguists.

Last and most perplexing, or perhaps least convincing, is the Luang Prabang dialect itself. It has the peculiar distinction of showing a split of A and C High versus A and C Mid+Low, leaving the B column untouched, i.e. with a single tone. At first glance, the Luang Prabang array looks like a simple bipartition, a flip-flop of the usual two-way split. A second, closer look reveals that it is instead a trifurcated dialect that has gone through the usual five steps

outlined earlier, but for which traces of steps 1 and 2 are all but lost. It is necessary to remember that bifurcation was defined as separating the PT voiced series from the rest of the PT initials as determinants of the first tonal split. It was axiomatic that all dialects had undergone the two-way split. Tripartition is the second-stage tonal split which effectively separates the High class initials from the remaining initials, which is exactly what the Luang Prabang dialect has done. Once this has been done, there really is no need to maintain the line separating the Low from the Mid class initials. In a sense, the Luang Prabang dialect is very modern in choosing to erase the bottom line.

Whether or not the changes common to Lower Southwestern Tai proceeded along the neat five-fold path as is pretended here, the delimitation of Lower Southwestern Tai as a geographical dialect area still stands. The isogloss in map 1 running through Tak, Loei, Luang Prabang and Sam Neua is a reasonably real, albeit rough, northern limit of a Lower Southwestern Tai domain.

Since the appearance of the model for the alignment of dialects in Southwestern Tai in Hartmann (1976a), Fang Kuei Li's publication *A Handbook of Comparative Tai* has appeared (1977). Much of the opening part of this volume, which will undoubtedly become a classic in comparative Tai studies, is devoted to the classification of dialects along the lines of tonal splits. It is clear that the divisions made by Li (1977) support the model presented in Hartmann (1976a) and revised slightly in this article, along with an elaboration of the feeding relationship involved in the five steps in the changes that predominate in Southwestern Tai. Li's division of Tai dialects allows us to equate his dialect types I, II, III for the Southwestern Tai group with our labels Upper, Middle and Lower Southwestern Tai, respectively.

Reviewing very briefly, in Li (1977) we find the following dialects representative of type I, or Upper Southwestern Tai:

Lue (Li), White Tai (Donaldson), Black Tai (Gedney),
Sam Neua (Simmonds), Tak Bai (Brown #79), Shan (Cushing),
Red Tai (Gedney), Phu Thai (Brown).

For type II, or Middle Southwestern Tai, we find the following in Li (1977):

Chiangmai (Haas, Egerod, etc.), Chiengrai (Brown), Prae (Simmonds, Brown),
Payao (Simmonds), Tak (Simmonds), Khuen (Egerod).

Type III in Li (1977) includes the remaining dialects of Laos and northeast Thailand, and Central Thai and Southern Thai. Li states on page 49:

Dialects showing systems of Type III are found only in Laos and Thailand, and seem to form a subgroup of dialects among the Southwestern group. From the typology of their tonal development, we may arrange the different subtypes in a hierarchical order which perhaps has significance in terms of historical development and geographical distribution.



The tree sketched above is only a rough approximation of the one presented in Li (1977) showing the hierarchical order of dialects in Lower Southwestern Tai. Our approach has been a strictly geographic one. With this in mind, a cartogram of the dialects within Southwestern Tai has been prepared (at end of article).

A few words concerning the major geographical boundaries found in the Southwestern Tai region are appropriate here.

First, the major geographical divide that appears to separate Lower Southwestern Tai from Central and Upper is the foothills that mark the beginning of the uplands where the Chao Phraya Valley (Central Plains) and the Lower Mekong River Valley end.

Next in significance is undoubtedly the Mekong River itself. In the Central Mekong region, Yunnan Province in particular, the River clearly serves as a border between dialects of Shan, Nuea, Khamti on the west and the closely related dialects of Lue, White and Black Tai on the east.

Not to be overlooked is the Khorat Plateau which effectively divides Northeastern and Central Thai.

There are socio-political determinants of subdialects within Southwestern Tai as well. In Laos proper, there are at least three subdialects that focus on the capitals of the north, center and the south.

In this paper, we have reviewed and compared the arguments for the alignment of subdivisions within Southwestern Tai as presented in Hartmann (1976) and Li (1977). It was shown that three major subdivisions of dialects covering distinct and continuous geographical areas can be delimited on the basis of common patterning of the splitting up of the PT tones *A B C. In the model presented in this paper, the three subdialects have been labeled Upper, Middle and Lower Southwestern Tai for areas which are designated by Li (1977) as I, II, III, respectively.

Going a step beyond a taxonomy of subdialects, the groups were viewed as having undergone a series of changes described as a process of feeding relationships. To wit, the dialects of Upper and Middle Southwestern Tai have undergone bipartition, while those of Lower Southwestern Tai have undergone tripartition as part of their separate histories. For the latter, in particular, tripartition was triggered by the final step in the series of changes in the initial stops: *vd > vl > asp. The process is an orderly one where bipartition must precede tripartition.

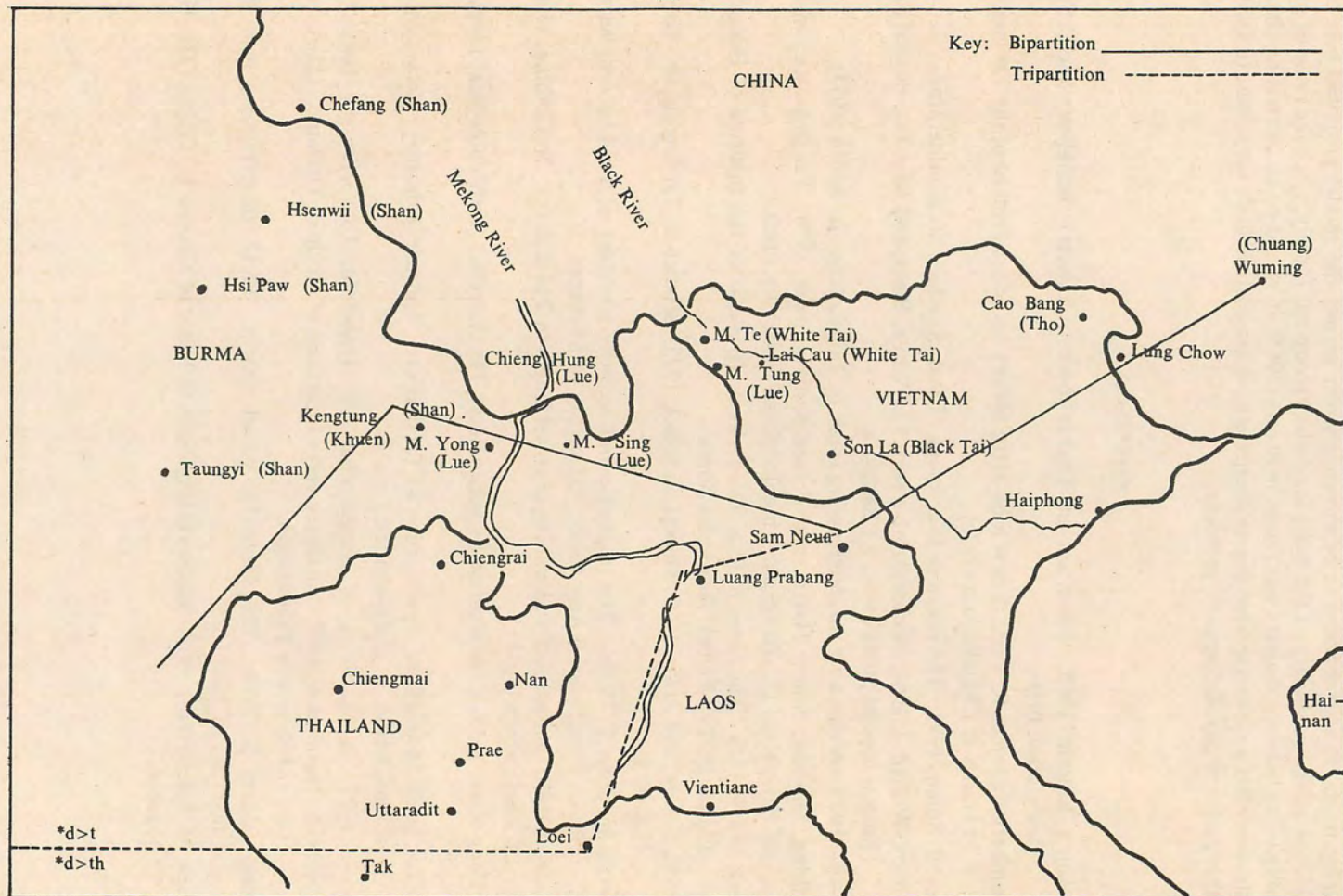
Several implications for future research might be drawn from this exercise in linguistic geography. The same three divisions that apply to Southwestern Tai alone might be shown

later to extend to the whole of the Tai language family, or at least one aspect of its historical development. It also remains to be shown whether or not the model proposed here can be validated using vocabulary as the basis for dialect grouping. Finally, since the issue of mutual intelligibility between dialects was raised in Brown (1965), it would be an interesting challenge to show in what ways and to what degree comparative-historical methods contribute to a solution to this practical psycholinguistic problem.

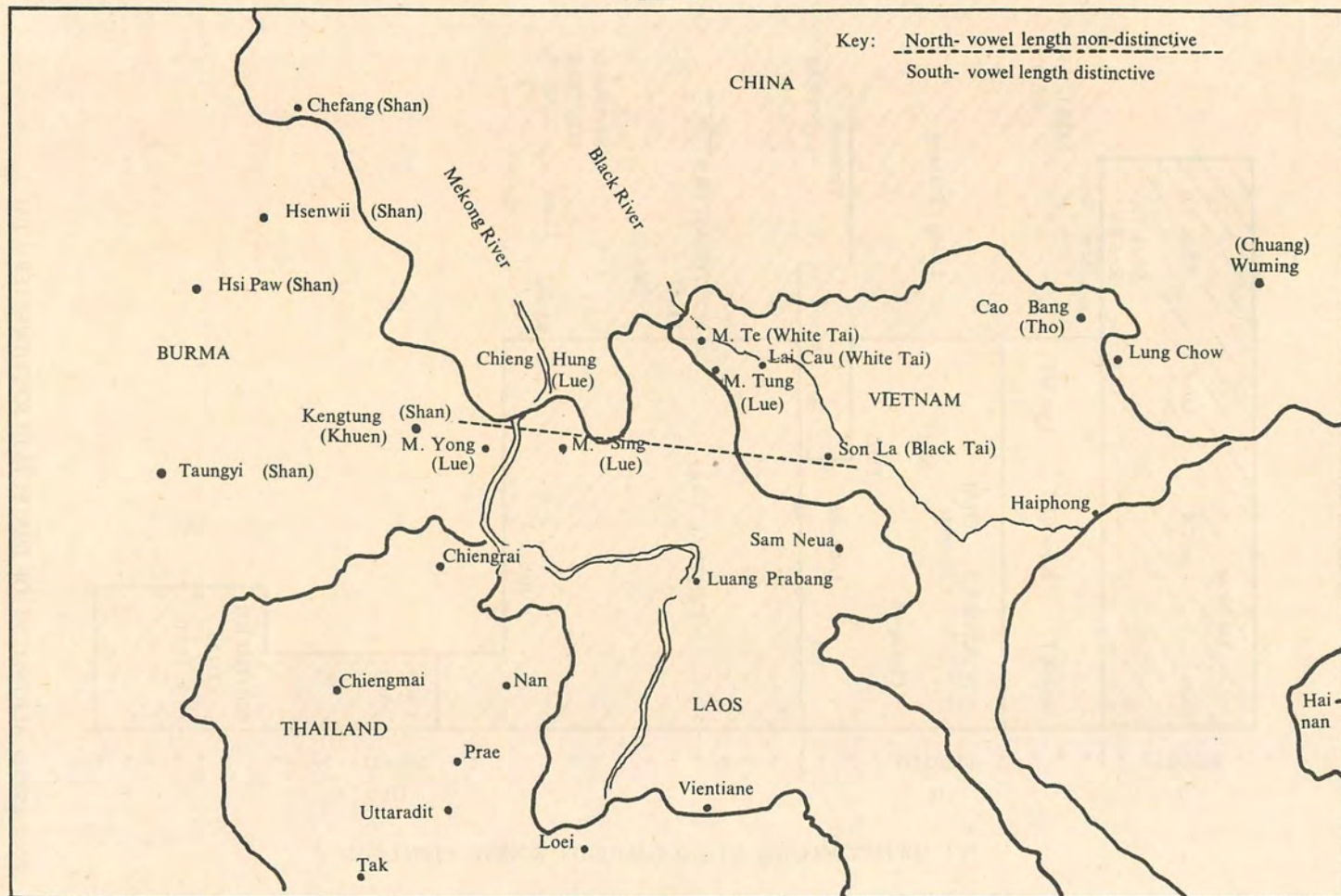
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MAP 1

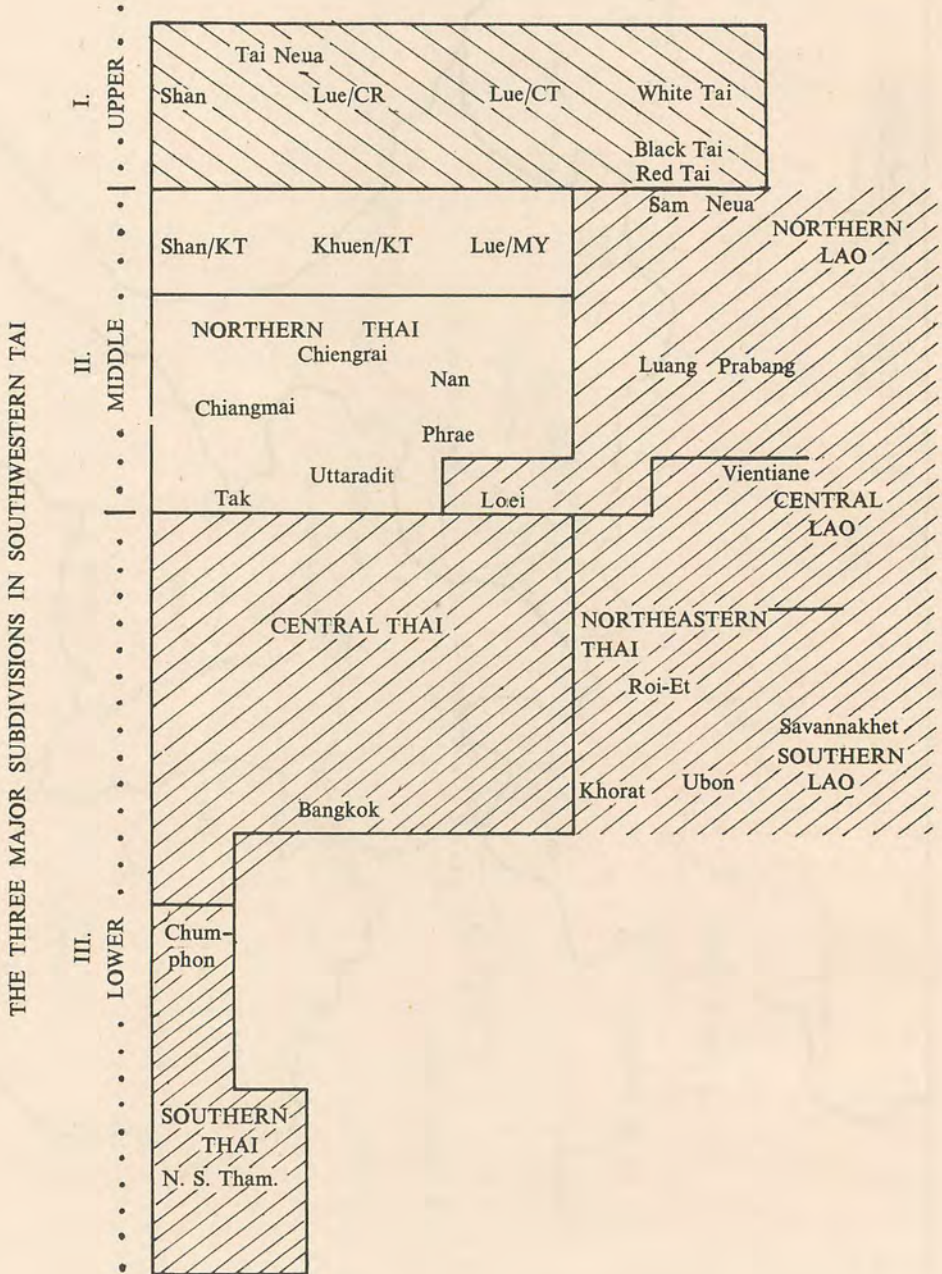


MAP 2



John F. Hartmann

CARTOGRAM



SUGGESTED ALIGNMENT OF DIALECTS IN SOUTHWESTERN TAI

NOTES

THE PHAUNGTAW-Ū FESTIVAL

by

SAO SAIMÖNG*

Of the numerous Buddhist festivals in Burma, the Phaungtaw-ū Pwe (or 'Phaungtaw-ū Festival') is among the most famous. I would like to say a few words on its origins and how the Buddhist religion, or 'Buddha Sāsana', came to Burma, particularly this part of Burma, the Shan States. To Burma and Thailand the term 'Buddha Sāsana' can only mean the Theravāda Sāsana or simply the 'Sāsana'.

I

Since Independence this part of Burma has been called 'Shan State'. During the time of the Burmese monarchy it was known as Shanpyī ('Shan Country', pronounced 'Shanpye'). When the British came the whole unit was called Shan States because Shanpyī was made up of states of various sizes, from more than 10,000 square miles to a dozen square miles. As I am dealing mostly with the past in this short talk I shall be using this term Shan States.

History books of Burma written in English and accessible to the outside world tell us that the Sāsana in its purest form was brought to Pagan as the result of the conversion by the Mahāthera Arahan of King Aniruddha ('Anawrahtā' in Burmese) who then proceeded to conquer Thaton (Suddhammapura) in AD 1057 and brought in more monks and the Tipiṭaka, enabling the Sāsana to be spread to the rest of the country. We are not told how Thaton itself obtained the Sāsana.

The *Mahavamsa* and chronicles in Burma and Thailand, however, tell us that the Sāsana was brought to Suvannabhūmi by the two *thera* Soṇa and Uttara after the Third Sangāyanā at Pāṭaliputta in 236 BC during the reign of Emperor Asoka of the Maurya Dynasty. Where is Suvannabhūmi? According to the map of Rāmaññadesa in *Old Burma*, Professor Luce's *magnum opus*, Suvannabhūmi is that stretch of land that runs from the beginning of the estuary

*Taunggyi, SSS, Burma. This Note is the text of a lecture given to Siam Society members by the author on the 25th and 27th September 1979 at Taunggyi, during the Phaungtaw-ū Festival.

Regarding Roman numeral codes in the footnotes, please refer to the "References" section appended to this Note.

of the Sittang River to the Bilin River. Some people believe that it stretches all the way from Pegu to Moulmein, and some chronicles identify Suvannabhūmi with Rāmaññadesa. The prominent feature of this land is the 1,100-foot-high Mount Kelāsa near the modern town of Taungzun. Half of old Suddhammapura was on Mount Kelāsa, and the other half was on the lower level.¹ The seacoast in those days was nearer to Mount Kelāsa than now. It was here that Soṇa and Uttara are said to have landed, and local traditions say that traces of some ruins on the low mountain are those of the monastery built for the two *thera*.

When King Aniruddha conquered Thaton in AD 1057, or when King Kyanzittha visited the site of the landing of the two *thera* in 1098 and set up his Suvannabhūmi inscriptions,² or when the Kalyāṇī inscriptions were set up in 1479, Suvannabhūmi was as indicated in the map of Rāmaññadesa referred to just now. The *Sāsanavamsa* points out on page 12 that the distance between “the island of Sihāja” and Suvannabhūmi was seven days and seven nights by boat, that it was a great harbour “where merchants arrived from various countries”, and that “the multitude, princes and others, would come by boat to Suvannabhūmi from the town of Campā and the like for trade”. Suvannabhūmi of Rāmaññadesa, the book adds, answers the description of Suvannabhūmi “of the commentary”.³

In the region along the estuary of the Sittang and its banks, fortune-seekers and alchemists have been dredging and panning gold from ancient times. The gold of Dezumpa, north of Pegu, is specially prized by alchemists. Hence the name ‘Suvannabhūmi’, according to local traditions. The place where the relics of the two *thera* were enshrined is called ‘Kusinarā’, and this is still worshipped with great reverence by local people. The importance of local traditions cannot be dismissed lightly. Professor Luce was able to locate the site of the battle between Saw Lu (Aniruddha’s son and successor) and Ngayamankan, i.e. the Pyitawtha Kyun of the inscriptions and of the chronicles, because local people still remembered it.⁴

What I have said above is no proof that Suvannabhūmi existed on the eastern shore of the Sittang estuary, but it does suggest the possibility. The Archaeological Department of Burma has been excavating at the foot of Mount Kelāsa since 1975, and we eagerly await final results.

The Kalyāṇī Inscriptions tell us that the Sāsanā flourished in Rāmaññadesa for a long time after the landing of Soṇa and Uttara, but it weakened eventually and by the year 1601 after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha, or Cuḷa Sakkarāja (CS) 419 (AD 1057), the Tipiṭaka and the Order of Bhikkhus were taken by King Aniruddha to Pagan.⁵ Although there is no mention of how the Sāsanā was faring during the 1,300-year period between Soṇa and Uttara and Aniruddha, there is evidence which leads one to believe in the possibility that it had not died out completely.

Chinese writings tell us there was a land route between China and India passing through north Burma in the second century BC,⁶ and that embassies of the Roman Empire travelled this

1. I, p. 43.

2. XX, p. 56.

3. I, p. 12.

4. XX, p. 47.

5. V, p. 76.

6. X(1), p. 207; X(3), p. 385.

route in AD 97 and 121.⁷ Since the route was mentioned, the chances are that it had existed for some time. If a land route between China and India in those days passed through the jungles of north Burma, it is quite reasonable to assume that sea communications between India and Lower Burma, i.e. Suvaṇṇabhūmi, must have been quite lively at the time Soṇa and Uttara landed.⁸

Before the Second World War scholars of Burmese history placed the beginning of the kingdom of Tharekhittarā (Śri Ksetra, or Old Prome) around the fifth century AD, based on evidence from the fragments of the Pāli canon found there.⁹ Nihar-Ranjan Ray has attempted to identify the script in which the Pāli inscriptions were written. He dates the script around the sixth century, "if not earlier", and says that Theravāda Sāsana was already an established religion in Tharekhittarā by the fifth century.¹⁰

Before the Second World War, too, European scholars took the years 50, 57 and 80 on the funeral urns of three kings of Tharekhittarā to be CS, and added 638 years to make them AD 688, 695 and 718. This was because they were overcautious and refused to believe in the possibility of Burmese culture and history earlier than that. Regarding Burmese cultural origins, on the other hand, Professor Hall does not favour the nationalistic but fallacious idea that Indian culture was brought to southeast Asia by waves of immigrants, and both he and Professor Coedès say that when the so-called Indian 'colonizers' did arrive in southeast Asia they met not savages but organized societies with a civilization "not completely unfamiliar" to them.¹¹ Many Burmese scholars take the dates on Tharekhittarā's royal funeral urns to be the Saka Era or Mahā Sakkarāja established by Emperor Kaniska of the Kushans, and add 78 to make them AD 128, 135 and 158 respectively. This is not impossible, as it has now been established by radiocarbon tests that Tharekhittarā was already in existence by the first century AD and that it perished only around the eighth century.¹² If any scientific proof of earlier civilization in Burma is needed, this is it, and I am afraid scholars and experts will have to think hard to fit their old theories into this new and irrefutable discovery.

Coedès, probably drawing conclusions from European colonization of India and southeast Asia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, calls southeast Asian kingdoms of ancient times "Indian kingdoms".¹³ Against this Hall says, "the use of such terms as 'Further India', 'Greater India' or 'Little China' is to be deprecated. Even such well-worn terms as 'Indo-China' and 'Indonesia' are open to serious objections, since they obscure the fact that the areas involved are not mere cultural appendages of India or China but have their own strongly-marked individuality."¹⁴ There is no doubt which of the two views is nearer the truth, especially since the

7. X(1), p. 204.

8. VI, pp. 1262-3.

9. III, pp. 62-3.

10. XI, p. 4.

11. III, p. 15; IV, p. 14, p. 13.

12. XII. In this paper, U Aung Thaw, the present Director-General of the Department of Archaeology, Burma, basing his conclusion on the radiocarbon tests, says: "the Pyū people had already established themselves in the region of Beikthanomyo, Halin (Hanlin) and Tharekhittarā by the first century AD".

13. III, chap. III, XIII and XIV.

14. IV, p. 4.

discovery of Ban Chiang culture. The theory has been seriously put forward that southeast Asia was the original home of rice cultivation and of domestication of other plants.¹⁵

The reference to Cuḷa Sakkarāja is another example of scholars refusing to accept indigenous sources. The chronicles state that CS was founded by King Poppa Sawrahan of Pagan in AD 638.¹⁶ It was the prerogative of monarchs of old to abolish and establish eras or *sakkarāja*. The Ratanakosindr Sakkarāja to mark the founding of Bangkok by King Rama I is a recent example. Luce maintains that CS was “invented” by the Pyū to mark the founding of Tharekhittarā,¹⁷ but there is nothing to support this theory and it is quite wrong in any case in view of the new discovery of the earlier birth of Tharekhittarā.

This discovery seems to confirm the contention in the chronicles that Tharekhittarā indeed existed before the first century AD. And if, as stated previously, scholars thought that the Sāsana was well established in Tharekhittarā by the fifth century AD, cannot we reasonably assume that it was there well before the Pāli inscriptions were written? Further, the chronicles say that the Sāsana was flourishing in Rāmaññadesa and the kingdom of Arakan at the same time as in Tharekhittarā. The final results of excavations at Mount Kelāsa will tell us whether we can connect these statements with the coming of Soṇa and Uttara.

The two well-known Chinese pilgrims to India, Hsuan-tsang and I-tsing, certified respectively in AD 648 and 675 that Tharekhittarā was in existence.¹⁸

Chinese writings in mid-ninth century mention two land routes between China and India that passed through north Burma, and one of these went through a “Pyū capital” and Manipur.¹⁹ Is this latter route one and the same as that of the second century BC? Of that unspecified “Pyū capital” the Chinese say the following:

The king's name is Mahārājā. His chief minister is Mahāseṇa. When he goes on a short journey, the king is borne on a litter of golden cord; when the journey is far, he rides an elephant. His wives and concubines are numerous, the constant number is a hundred persons. The compass of the city-wall is faced with glazed bricks; it is 160 *li* in circumference. The banks of the moat too are faced with bricks . . . Within the walls the inhabitants number several myriad families. There are over a hundred Buddhist monasteries with courts and rooms all decked with gold and silver, coated with cinnabar and bright colours, smeared with kino and covered with embroidered rugs . . . the king's residence is also like this . . . When they come to the age of seven, both boys and girls drop their hair and stop in a monastery, where they take refuge in the Saṅgha. On reaching the age of twenty, if they have not awaked to the principles of the Buddha, they let their hair grow again and become ordinary townfolk . . . There are twelve gates with pagodas at the four corners; the people all live within.²⁰

This description could have come from any chronicle in Burma and Thailand; in fact it is more extravagant than any chronicle—the example of glazed bricks, for example; but having come from Chinese sources it is believed by scholars as authentic, while indigenous chronicles are regarded by the same scholars as something akin to fairy tales. If this Chinese account is

15. XXI, pp. 330-9.

16. VII, pp. 52-3.

17. Luce, G.H., *op. cit.*, vol. II, catalogue of plates and indexes, p. 330, para. 2.

18. X(2), p. 310.

19. X(2), p. 316.

20. X(2), pp. 318-9.

authentic, then the monasteries and the ordinations of *bhikkhu* and *sāmaṇera* as described definitely belong to the Theravāda sect as you would find in Burma today. Authentic though the Chinese writings may be, they fail to tell us the name of this city; but it seems to me that the ruins and artefacts of Tharekhittarā answer the description of such a grand city. Professor Luce thinks it could be Halin near Shwebo in the north, and says, "if I hesitate to press for the identification, it is partly due to my surprise that if this site was the Pyū capital known to the Chinese, they did not mention the sulphur and saline springs which are so notable a feature of the landscape at Halin today."

It should be remembered that the walls of Tharekhittarā are more or less circular in shape, as stated in the Chinese quotation above as well as in the Burmese chronicles, with a diameter of 2.5 miles, while those of Halin are rectangular, measuring roughly 2.0 by 1.0 miles. I take the word "circumference" in the quotation to be that of a circular shape. The chronicles state that the diameter of the circular walls of Tharekhittarā is 1 *yojana*, while the actual measurement is about 2.5 miles.

From the radiocarbon testing to the mid-ninth-century Chinese records, Tharekhittarā seems to have embraced the Sāsana throughout its life of nearly 1,000 years. Circumstantial evidence seems to point that way. Is it not possible, then, that the Pyūs obtained their Sāsana from their neighbours, the Mōns of Rāmaññadesa? And so far scholars have not quarrelled with the statement in the chronicles that it was the Theravāda Sāsana that Aniruddha brought from Thaton in 1057. From that date up to now the Theravāda Sāsana has been the predominant faith in Burma.

II

How did the Sāsana come to the Shan States? I have read several chronicles of major Shan States, but none has mentioned any definite date when the Sāsana was introduced, except in one chronicle which I deal with further on. Most chronicles more or less assume that the Sāsana was there from the beginning. The chronicles of Mōngmāu and Hsīpaw have the same beginning as the Burmese chronicles, with the founding of Tagaung by a Sākya prince who migrated from India long before the coming of our Buddha. About the time of the Parinibbāna of the Buddha, Tagaung was destroyed by an enemy from the east, and the last of the line of Sākya rulers by the name of Bhinnakarājā was killed. His followers thereupon broke up into three divisions; one of these became the "Nineteen Shan Clans" who migrated east and founded the kingdom of Mōngmāu, and from there they spread to such other Shan States as Mohnyin (Mōngyāng), Mōngmit, Hsenwī, Hsīpaw, Mōngnai and Yawnghwe. This beginning gives the Shans a close connection with the Burmans, and also gives some of the Shan ruling houses a link to the Sākya clan and thence the 'Solar Race'.

Nowhere in the chronicles of the above Shan States is the year that the Sāsana was introduced identified. We are left with statements in such Burmese chronicles as *U Kalā* and

*Hmannan*²¹ that it was King Bayinnaung (Burengnawng) who introduced the Sāsana into the various Shan States in the sixteenth century when he won the allegiance of all the ruling princes. We are also told that the king prohibited human and animal sacrifices that followed the death of a Shan ruler.²² In this connection Mr Harvey states that when a major *sawbwa* (*caufā*) died, as many as 10 elephants, 100 horses, and 100 each of men and women would be slaughtered.²³ Even if 200 human slaves were expendable, I doubt if so many precious elephants and horses could have been spared. Bayinnaung brought the Sāsana not only to the Shan States of Burma, but also to the Shan States presently part of China, but in those days submitted to the Burmese suzerainty—these Chinese Shan States are known as ‘Koshanpye’ or the ‘Nine Shan States’: Mōngmāu, Hsikwan, Mōngnā, Sandā, Hosā, Lasā, Mōngwan, Kūngma and Mōnglem. And there is no reason to disbelieve the way the Sāsana was established by Bayinnaung in the Shan States.

Earlier I refer to one Shan chronicle that mentioned the coming of the Sāsana, and this is the chronicle of the State of Kengtung (Chiengtung). According to this chronicle the original inhabitants of the state were Lva or Va, and the first Tai or Shan ruler was a grandson of King Mangrāy by the name of Prince Namthum (Namthuam) sent from Chiengmai in CS 615 (the date given in the Yonaka Chronicle for this event is CS 686).²⁴ The Shans drove the Va out of Kengtung; the traditional belief among the Va in the present Va (Wa) States is that they were driven by the Shans from Kengtung to their present homeland. In the year CS 712 (AD 1350) King Phāyū of Chiengmai sent his son Prince Sattabandhu or Cedbantū to rule Kengtung with a contingent of officials, astrologers and four *mahāthera* whose names were Mahā Hongśāvati, Dasapañño, Dhammalaṅkā and Dhammatrailoke. Of the four monasteries built for the *mahāthera* the sites of three are still *wat* or monasteries, and the site of the fourth one is recognizable. In CS 810 (AD 1448) there arrived in Kengtung, also from Chiengmai, a reformed sect of the Sāsana called the Forest Sect, as opposed to the original Garden Sect; the former received its name from the original Wat Pādaeng in Chiengmai and the latter from Wat Suandōk also of Chiengmai: *pā* means ‘forest’, and *suan* ‘garden’. Some of the details of the establishment of this Forest Sect are given by Mr A.B. Griswold and Dr Prasert ṇa Nagara in their article “An inscription from Kengtung (AD 1451)” published in the *Journal of the Siam Society* (vol. 66 pt. 1, January 1978).

This inscription is in Wat Pā Daeng in Kengtung and I am glad to say that the lord abbot, at my urging, has had erected a substantial covering over it to protect it from sun and rain. The monastery has a copy of its chronicle in Khün (Kengtung) script called *Tamnān wat pā daeng*, which has been translated into English and will be published by the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, sometime in December or January next in a series named Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia. There is another chronicle of the same monastery, *Tamnān mulāsāsanā chabap wat pā daeng* in Thai, published by Chiang Mai University in January 1976, and translated into English

21. Full titles: U Kalā’s Mahāyāzawingyi; Hmannan Mahāyāzawindawgyi.

22. VIII, p. 166.

23. VIII, p. 343.

24. XVII, p. 36; XVIII, p. 544.

and published by the *JSS* (vol. 65 pt. 2, July 1977). Of the two, the Thai one is more precise and its dates are clearer, but it lacks the details of local customs in Kengtung as are given in the Khün copy. According to both copies, the Sāsana spread from Kengtung to Sipsōngbannā, Mōnglem and the Chinese Shan States. The arrival of the Forest Sect in Kengtung occurs about 100 years before Bayinnaung's conquest of Lān Nā Thai and all Shan States. At present certain monasteries in the Northern Shan States, the Va States and the Chinese Shan States still follow what the Shans west of the Salween call the 'Yōn' (Yuan) Sect. Khün manuscripts on Shan paper and palmleaf have been found west of the Salween with dates between 150 to over 200 years. These manuscripts are now in the custody of the Shan State Council here in Taunggyi. Does this mean that much of the Shan States of Burma received the Sāsana from Chiengmai and Kengtung before the rise of Bayinnaung?

III

We come to the chronicle of the Phaungtaung-ū Images, which we cannot begin without reference to the chronicle of Yawngshwe State.

The ruling princes of Yawngshwe claimed descent from the Sākya prince who founded the first Burmese, or more accurately Pyū, kingdom of Tagaung because they came from Mōngmāu which was founded by the 19 Shan States which were connected with the founder of Tagaung. As I say earlier, major ruling houses of the Shan States could also make such a claim, with the exception of that of Kengtung which had its origin from Chiengmai within historical time.

The name 'Yawngshwe' in Shan denotes the successive valleys on both sides of the Inle. 'Yawng' means 'highland' and 'Hwe' means 'valley', the same as the Thai word 'huay'; the idea being, I think, that the highlands are intersected with valleys. The Burmese name for Yawngshwe is 'Nyaungshwe', meaning 'gold *bodhi* tree', and it has its origin according to the following story. There was a *bodhi* tree in the town, golden in colour, which brought prosperity to the people. A prince of Taung-ū (we are not told which prince of what period) built a *cetiya* over the *bodhi* tree and named it Shwe Taung-ū Ceti. Nyaungshwe is the name derived from that golden-hued *bodhi* tree.

The classical name of Yawngshwe as a state is Kambojaraṭṭha. Its boundaries formerly were much bigger than in modern times. Kambojaraṭṭha's first capital was Kawthambī (Kosambi) which was built slightly north of the Bawrithat (Bodhisatta) Cetiya which is on the way to Yawngshwe — it is on the right-hand side of the road, about four miles from the junction of that road to the main highway at the railway terminal of Shwenyaung. According to Harvey, the Bawrithat was founded by King Aniruddha of Pagan.²⁵ As in the rest of Burma or in Thailand, these classical names of provinces and cities are connected with those in India of the Lord Buddha's times. After Kawthambī, two more capitals called Rammavati and Panphae

25. VIII, p. 24.

(‘*ban phai*’ means ‘bamboo village’) came into being, and both were sited on the eastern bank of the Inle Lake not far from the modern village of Maingthauk (Möngsawak)—traces of the walls of Panphae can still be seen.

The chronicle of the Phaungtaw-ū Images states that names of successive rulers in these three capitals were in records and annals which have since been destroyed, owing to incessant fighting in those days as well as in modern times.

The present town of Yawnghwe is the fourth capital. It was founded in the year CS 721 (AD 1359) during the reign of *Sawbwa* (*Caufā*) Si Seng Hpa (‘*cī saeng fā*’ means ‘adorned with heavenly gems’). When we take into consideration the historical fact that Shan and Thai kingdoms and principalities in Burma and Thailand came into being during the thirteenth and fourteenth century, Si Seng Hpa is probably the first historical ruler of the state of Yawnghwe. Names of successive rulers of Yawnghwe after Si Seng Hpa are known together with the dates of their reigning years.

It was during the reign of Si Seng Hpa that five images of the Buddha were found by local people to be emitting supernatural rays from a jungle-covered cave in a locality called Thanhtaung (pronounced ‘thandaung’ meaning ‘one thousand million’) on the west of the Inle. When the report reached the prince he was filled with pious delight, and with appropriate retinue went to the cave to see the wonderful sight for himself. He then had the jungle cleared and brought the images to his capital to be worshipped by himself and his subjects.

How did the images get to the cave? According to the Phaungtaw-ū chronicle and local belief, the king of Pagan who succeeded Kyanzittha, i.e. King Alaungsithū, was in the habit of travelling in his magical royal barge to distant lands outside Burma. On one of these travels when the king reached Mallayu Island (the chronicle locates this as an island near Madras in south India, where sandalwood abounds), the Thagyāmin (Sakka or Indra) gave him five images of the Lord Buddha fashioned out of a southern branch of the holy *bodhi* tree (apparently from Buddhagaya) and a piece of supernatural sandalwood. Alaungsithū had the images placed in a place of honour, namely the forefront or prow of his barge. Hence the epithet in Burmese ‘Phaungtaw-ū Payā’, meaning ‘images of the prow of the royal barge’, which in Thai would be ‘*bra buddharūp hua rōa brathīnang*’.

After King Alaungsithū returned to Pagan he was in the habit of visiting various parts of Burma, travelling always in his magical barge with the sacred images at its prow, and on one such journey his barge, by the king’s supernatural power, came to a stop at a place on the western shore of the Inle Lake known as Phaungtaw Pauktaung (‘mountain penetrated by the royal barge’). You can see this from the Lake; it is a big valley in the west in the shape of a hull of a boat; it reminds one what one has learned in school about a ‘hanging valley’, although it doesn’t ‘hang’ in this case. Somewhere near the bottom of the valley is the locality called Than-haung; it was in a cave in this locality that Alaungsithū is said to have deposited (‘*thāpana*’) the five images which lay unseen and buried there until the reign of Si Seng Hpa.

The Phaungtaw-ū chronicle gives the date of Alaungsithū’s visit to the Lake when he deposited the five images in the cave CS 457 (AD 1095). The accepted dates in the history of Burma of Alaungsithū’s reign are placed at AD 1112-1167.

These 'Phaungtaw-ū Images' resided in the capital, Yawnghwe, from during the reign of Si Seng Hpa for a period of 256 years until CS 977 (AD 1615). If this is true we could place the discovery of the Images in the year CS 721 (AD 1359), the same year that Yawnghwe was founded. At this time, in the years around 1615, the ruler of Yawnghwe was a female *sawbwa* by the name of Nang Nung Pe ('lady who wears brocade'). Being a lady and fearing that dangers might befall the Images, the princess-*sawbwa* had them moved to a town called Indein in the southwest of the Lake. There the Images resided 156 years until CS 1133 (AD 1771) when the monastery which housed them was burnt down by a fire and they were moved to Ban Pong (? 'Hot Spring Village'). In CS 1243 (AD 1881) the Phaungtaw-ū Images were moved to their present residence, the monastery at Namhū (Namrū), right inside the lake area. Wherever the Phaungtaw-ū Images resided monastery subjects would be appointed to serve them.

These monastery or pagoda subjects have been called monastery or pagoda 'slaves' in English. I think this is a misnomer. The position of these pagoda or monastery people was a privileged one, for, apart from duties towards the pagoda or monastery to which they had been assigned, they were exempted from corvée and military conscription imposed by the state on the ordinary population. The term 'subject' is more appropriate, I think. The villagers of Namhū of today still regard themselves as monastery subjects, physically and morally duty-bound to serve the Phaungtaw-ū Images and the monastery.

The Phaungtaw-ū chronicle states that from the time of Prince Si Seng Hpa, through 30 successive reigns of the *sawbwa* of Yawnghwe until the present time, it has been the custom to take the Images from their place of residence in boat processions through various towns and villages, including the capital, for the rulers and the ruled to pay homage and reverence with offerings of flowers, candles and alms-food. This event in modern times takes place just before the Pavāraṇā (end of the Buddhist 'Rains Retreat'). In the old days the processions passed through six localities, apparently in so many days, then 12, and then 20 places or so within 17 or 18 days, as is the practice now. At some places the Images stop for one night, at some places only for a few hours, usually in the morning so that the devotees may offer alms-food. The stop at Yawnghwe used to be two nights but now I believe this has been extended to three nights. The sequence of stopping stages may or may not be the same from year to year, but one thing is certain: the Images inevitably arrive in the capital mid-morning of the seventh waxing day of the Burmese month of Thadingyut, i.e. eight days before the Pavāraṇā.

There is a 'catch' in the calculation of lunar days in Burma, on the one hand, and in Thailand and Kengtung on the other. The counting in Burma is almost always one day ahead of that in Thailand. Take the present seventh waxing of Thadingyut; for Burma and the rest of the Shan States it falls on Thursday the 27th September 1979, while in Thailand and one remaining Shan State of Burma, Kengtung, the same day is counted as the sixth waxing, so that the seventh waxing of this Pavāraṇā month in Thailand and Kengtung falls on Friday the 28th September 1979. Actually the Thai calculation is nearer to the true phase of the moon, in that the roundness of the moon on a Thai full-moon day is more perfect than that of the moon on a Burmese full-moon day which is one day ahead of the Thai. Once in a while the two systems coincide. When do they do that, and why should this be so, only a specialist in astronomy can tell us. I often wonder how the two calculations will affect the result of astrology.

To return to the movements of the Phaungtaw-ū Images, the itinerary begins from Namhū monastery, where the Images leave for the first stage of their journey. This year the move began on the first waxing of Thadingyut, i.e. about six days ago. From this first stage the procession will go from place to place until the seventh waxing when the Images come to Yawnghwe, arriving there mid-morning. The procession on the water on this day is the most spectacular when the Kāravek Phaung (a 'kāravek' is a mythical bird, and 'phaung' means 'barge') is towed by hundreds of leg-rowers in long boats or dugouts strung together stern to prow. There is much shouting by the leg-rowers in the various boats, as if inspired by religious fervour, and they row with vigour and will of intense *saddhā* to the beat of drums, gongs and musical instruments. Sometimes a small barge follows the Kāravek Barge like a floating stage, on which the village belles dance to the music of an orchestra. Everyone taking part in this grand procession on the water regards him- or herself as performing a meritorious act (*kusa-lakamma*) capable of bettering his or her *kamma* in this and future lives.

Seeing the Kāravek Phaung will give you some idea of the royal barges used by kings of Burma in the old days. Those royal barges of course would be larger and, perhaps, with two birds instead of one and with royal chambers of various sizes, and instead of bamboo frames decorated with paper and tinsel for the superstructure, solid teak would be used, beautifully carved and adorned with gold-leaf. The bird on the Kāravek Phaung is supposed to a reproduction of that mythical *kāravek*.

The sight of the religious fervour, not only of the people taking part in the aquatic procession but also of people in hundreds of boats who go to pay reverence either while the barge is on the move or after the Images have been taken from the Kāravek Phaungtaw to a specially constructed pavilion in Yawnghwe town itself, or other localities, will help you to realize how deeply ingrained the Sāsana is in our people, and why Burma, in the same manner as Thailand, is such a stronghold of our Buddha Sāsana.

Let me conclude with a few words about the people of Inle Lake and the leg-rowers. Linguistically there are two main groups: Inthā and Shan. I hesitate to use the word 'ethnic' because it is too technical and the people too mixed up to make a clearcut division. The Shans speak a dialect of Shan with an accent somewhat resembling that of Thai-Yuan or Northern Thai. Usually the Lake Shans speak the Inthā dialect of Burmese as well.

The Inthās speak a Burmese dialect that is difficult for ordinary Burmans to understand at the beginning; nevertheless the dialect is Burmese. According to the Yawnghwe chronicle, two brothers named Nga Taung and Nga Naung from Tavoy (Dvāy) came and took service under *Sawbwa* Si Seng Hpa. With the permission and assistance from the *Sawbwa* the two went back to Tavoy and brought 36 households back to Yawnghwe. These people originally settled at Nan Thè, near Yawnghwe, and gradually multiplied and spread southwards until they peopled the entire Lake district. Their descendants are the Inthās, so numerous that by the last count during the British administration they comprised 40 per cent of the population of the state. 'Inthā' means 'son of the lake'.

As for the leg-rowing, no one has been able to tell me satisfactorily how it came about, but one can make a good guess. Storms are infrequent on the Lake outside the monsoon season,

and the local people can work for long hours on their large, flat-bottomed boats. The work they do involves a great deal of standing; spearing and trawling of fish, and moving of earth, a sort of compost for their floating gardens, cannot be done comfortably or efficiently in a seated position. So I presume that leg-rowing has evolved from these three factors: placid water, flat-bottomed boat on which the boatman can stand without upsetting it, and the nature of the work done by the 'sons of the Lake' on the water. Once you have learned how to balance yourself properly on the boat it is not difficult to row with one of your legs hooked to the oar, which is held in place by one of your hands.

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JBRS = Journal of the Burma Research Society

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TWO OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE STONE INSCRIPTION OF WAT PHRA YŪN, LAMPHUN (C.S. 732)

by

HANS PENTH

I

In his discussion of the royal names mentioned at the beginning of the inscription, *M.C. Chand* states¹ that according to the photograph of the inscription in *Prachum silājārūk*,² the reading of the third name “is 100-per cent Kam Bhu (คำฟู)”. He writes that after a look at the stone in Wat Phra Yūn, he and an epigraphist, whose identity he does not disclose, arrived at the conclusion “that the reading is 80 to 90-per cent Kam Bhu”.³

However, after examination of the stone and comparison of the various letters of the inscription among themselves, I am certain that the inscription spells the name คำฟู: *gām fū* (“*kham fū*” in modern pronunciation), as read by Griswold and ṇa Nagara.⁴ *Kham Fū* is still a personal name in northern Thailand.

II

Face II of the slab has at the top a few letters which are nearly obliterated and which so far seem to have gone unnoticed. The letters are preceded and followed by two vertical strokes. The inscription probably reads || สธิการ || i.e. สธิการิยะ: *siddhikāriya* (S., P. “fulfilment” + “to be done”). That expression is commonly used to introduce a resolve, its signification here being “may it be successfully accomplished”, “may it come true”. In the case of the Wat Phra Yūn inscription, the details of the resolve are not revealed, nor are the circumstances that led to the resolve. Probably, “*siddhikāriya*” is the beginning and the abbreviation of a chain of ideas, such as: “May it come true. Through the power of merit (*puñña*) created by promoting the *dhamma* as is specified in this inscription, I wish to become an arahant under the future Buddha Metteyya.”

A study of the entire complex of introductory and accompanying formulas, *śrī svasti, siri-subham athu*, etc., would be welcome.

1. *M.C. Chand Chirayu Rajani*, “Remarks on ‘The Lion Prince’”, *JSS* (65.1), 1977, p. 291.
2. สำนักนายกรัฐมนตรี, ประชุมศิลาจารึก ภาคที่ ๓ (หน้า ทองคำวรรณ, ศิลาจารึกวัดพระยืน), พระนคร พ.ศ. ๒๕๐๘ หน้า ๑๓๖-๑๔๔.
3. The usual romanization for คำฟู is either ‘*kham phū*’ (pronunciation) or ‘*gām bū*’ (spelling).
4. Alexander B. Griswold & Prasert ṇa Nagara, “The inscription of Wat Phra Yūn”, *JSS* (62.1), 1974, p. 127. *M.C. Chand* (*op. cit.*, p. 289) wrongly quotes the authors as reading คำฟู: *gām fū*; that reading is found in *Prachum silājārūk*, III, p. 136 (see footnote 2).

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF HOLDINGS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, PAYAP COLLEGE

by

HERBERT R. SWANSON*

Among those areas of Thai history still awaiting full scholarly attention is the area of Protestant missionary and church history. Although this field of study is rich in resources of great potential value both to the general historian and to the student of religious history, very little serious work has been done to date. One may suppose several reasons for this state of neglect, but one of the prime reasons has been that until recently church history records, although numerous, have not been easily accessible to Thai researchers. The great bulk of these records have either been kept in overseas repositories or stored away unknown and unused.

In May 1978, Payap College, Chiang Mai, working in co-operation with the Church of Christ in Thailand, opened the Manuscript Division. The purpose of the Division is to become a center for historical study through the use of missionary and church records. The Division sought to increase the availability of such records thus making them more useful both to Thailand historical and religious studies. The Manuscript Division experienced a great deal of success in its first two years so that by May 1980, the Division held some 180 linear feet (roughly 215,000 pages) of original church history records. In addition it had acquired nearly 1,000 reference books and pamphlets and over 10,000 photographs (negatives or prints).

It is the purpose of these notes to describe briefly the more important holdings of the Manuscript Division, Payap College, and to suggest some of the research possibilities in those records. The Manuscript Division is still very much in the developmental stages of its work, and it will not be able to provide full reader service before mid-1981. However, interested researchers are encouraged to contact the Division to discuss special arrangements.

Microfilm records

One of the obstacles to the study of missionary and church history in Thailand is that most of the truly significant collections of records are to be found only in American repositories. Generally these records are only a portion of larger missionary organization records groups, and the repositories have not been able to inform researchers in the particular field of Thai history of the existence of the records. In any event, such records remain fundamentally inaccessible to researchers in Thailand. Therefore, the Manuscript Division has established a

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program of acquiring microfilm copies of relevant records where such are available. By June 1980, the Division held the following microfilm records.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1831-1849). These records include eight reels the originals of which are located at the Houghton Library, Harvard University. The ABCFM was the first established missionary organization in Siam, and included in these records are correspondence and reports from Bradley, Caswell and the other members of the mission. These records represent the home office files of the ABCFM. There are some financial records and printed matter. These records are an invaluable source of data not only for missionary history but also for Thai political, economic, social and religious history.

American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (1833-1900). These records include four reels of microfilm containing primarily correspondence and reports by Dean, Smith, Jones and the other Baptist missionaries. These records are spread out over a greater time span than are those of the ABCFM, and they contain important records of the work of the Baptists especially among the Chinese in Bangkok. Since Baptist work began almost at the same time as that of the ABCFM, these records form an important complement to the latter. The originals are housed at the American Baptist Historical Society library in Rochester, New York, USA.

The Bradley Papers (1800-1873). This collection of four reels includes two reels of the personal papers of Dan Beach Bradley, including correspondence (calendar of correspondence is available) and two smaller reels that contain portions of Bradley's journal and Emelie Royce Bradley's diary. The original manuscripts are at the College Archives, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, USA. As these papers span the entire life of Bradley and his work in Thailand they provide a wealth of material about Bradley and his family, about mission work and about political and social conditions in Thailand.

The above three records groups comprise the records of virtually the first generation of missionaries in Thailand and include materials for some of the most influential and most famous of the missionaries. In addition to these three sets of microfilms, the Manuscript Division has ordered four reels of microfilm containing records of the Siam Mission of the American Missionary Association (1850-1893). The bulk of these records consists of letter reports sent by Bradley and his co-workers in that mission. The originals are housed at the Amistad Research Center of Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana, USA.

The Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (1840-1910). This records group consists of 12 reels covering the work of the largest and most sustained missionary organization to have worked in Thailand prior to World War II. A wide range of types of records are included: correspondence, official minutes, various types of reports, financial reports and printed matter. Unlike the above mentioned records groups, the work of the Presbyterians was not confined to Bangkok, hence these reels contain records from various parts of Thailand. Nearly all of the missionaries serving in these years are represented, including House, McGilvary, McFarland, Matton, McDonald, J. Eakin and Wilson. Significant subjects include the development of schools and hospitals in several parts

of Thailand, the opening of the mission in Chiang Mai, the basic beliefs and hopes of the missionaries, the slow growth of Thai Protestantism as well as a great deal of material on social and religious topics. All correspondence on these reels is indexed, making it one of the most convenient to use records groups on microfilm that is found at the Manuscript Division.

Original records

For records of nineteenth century mission and church work, the Manuscript Division must rely primarily, but not entirely, upon microfilmed records. The vast majority of records on deposit at the Division come from the twentieth century of which a significant amount are post-World War II. For a variety of reasons pre-War records are scarce in Thailand. These reasons include: loss of records during World War II; periodic shipment of missionary records back to the United States; improper care and storage of existing records; and the relatively small number of Protestants and their organizations prior to the War.

The archival holdings of the Manuscript Division fall into two categories: Archives of the Church of Christ in Thailand, and Payap College Archives. Each of these archival groups is under restriction. CCT Archives records are under restricted access for a period of 35 years from the date of their origin. A document written in 1950 may not be used until 1985. This restriction does not apply to printed matter, nor to records that were reproduced for general distribution. The Payap archival material has a similar restriction for 25 years after the document originated.

(a) Archives of the Church of Christ in Thailand (CCT)

The CCT Archives contains a wide variety of records originating from several different types of institutions. Records held in the CCT Archives fall into two general groupings: records of missionary organizations affiliated with the CCT; and records of institutions, organizations, committees, projects and administrative units of the CCT itself.

The Records of the American Presbyterian Mission (1845-1979). This records group totals some 50 linear feet (101 document boxes). It is divided into three series: (i) rare documents file and pre-World War I records of the Siam and the Laos Missions (2 boxes); (ii) pre-World War II records (15 boxes); and post-War records (84 boxes). Virtually every type of record is represented in this group including correspondence, minutes, reports, circulars, letters, financial records, building and property records, printed matter, and the like.

The mission's rare document file includes two holograph letters of H.M. Rama IV, early records from Bradley, the original minutes for the First Presbyterian Church of Chiang Mai (1868-1886), copies of U.S. diplomatic correspondence (1911), and other items. The inter-war records consist entirely of the files of the various Executive Secretaries of the Siam Mission, most notably Paul Eakin. The post-War records are drawn primarily from the mission executive of the post-War era, Dr. Horace Ryburn.

In a sense, these records form a continuation of the Presbyterian microfilm reels mentioned above. However, the point of origin differs in that those records are from the files of the

Board offices in New York City, while this records group consists of the on-the-field records of the missionaries themselves. These American Presbyterian Mission records display virtually every facet of Presbyterian work after 1930, and are a rich source of correspondence and reports. They include a great deal of material on the birth and the growth of the Church of Christ in Thailand, on the development of Protestant schools and hospitals, and on the work of the individual missionaries. Field and home office relationships are well documented as are the roles of key figures in the mission. The post-World War restoration of missionary activities is prominently displayed, as are the differing strategies of the mission after the War. Included in the records group are 442 photographs dating well back into the nineteenth century. Many of the photographs are portraits of the various missionaries.

The Records of the United Christian Missionary Society (1934-1979). This records group totals 4 linear feet (10 boxes) of records consisting of three basic series: (i) correspondence related to the visits of people from overseas (1 box); (ii) UCMS work at the Sangkhlaburi Mission Station; and (iii) UCMS work in Nakhon Pathom. These last two series are roughly the same size. Although this is a small records group, it contains a sizeable amount of correspondence and reports, and provides important documentation regarding two aspects of missionary work in Thailand.

The Records of the Thailand Baptist Missionary Fellowship (ca. 1953-ca. 1975). As of June 1980, these records had not yet been fully processed for scholarly use. They form a special case in the CCT Archives in that they are under only a 15-year instead of 35-year restriction. They comprise 10 linear feet (30 boxes and 1 other volume). These records have a significant proportion of correspondence and reports, and came to the Division in unusually complete and well-kept form. Among significant contents are records of Baptist work among the hill tribes particularly in northern Thailand and at Sangkhlaburi. This records group also contains good files for inter-mission co-operative activities such as the Union Language School in Bangkok.

These records originated in the office of the field secretary and the field treasurer of the Fellowship. They are primarily the records of the American Baptist Mission prior to its expansion to include Swedish, Australian and other Baptist national groupings which expansion took place in the early 1970s.

The second major division of the CCT Archives includes those records originating from official CCT institutions and activities. Since the Church of Christ in Thailand was founded only in 1934, these CCT records contain very few items from before World War II. The great bulk of the records date from 1960 to the mid-1970s. In nearly all cases, it is expected that records groups currently held by the Manuscript Division will receive regular additions thus increasing their completeness and usefulness to historical researchers. In June 1980, the CCT began working on a comprehensive archival policy towards that end.

Records of the Church of Christ in Thailand (1934-1979). This records group totals 23 linear feet (54 boxes) being divided into four series: (i) Office of the General Secretary (33 boxes); (ii) Division of Social Welfare (6 boxes); Office of the Treasurer (3 boxes); and Office of Property (12 boxes). Although the majority of these records are in Thai, both the General

Secretary's and Property Office's files contain large amounts of English language material. In the case of the General Secretary, these materials are primarily correspondence and other records relating to the ecumenical relations of the CCT. In all, printed matter and reproduced minutes and reports form a significant proportion of the total records. Most of the materials date from 1959 to 1976.

Significant themes include the work of Christian schools and hospitals, the structural development of the CCT, CCT attempts at social witness, and the continuing influence of missionaries in the work of the denomination. These records are less apt to reflect social and political conditions in Thailand than are the earlier missionary records. Also included are a large number of negatives (over 3,000) showing various aspects of church activities.

By June 1980, the Manuscript Division had fully processed and prepared for research use six other CCT Archives records groups. they are as follows:

Records of the First District (1933-1979). The First District is headquartered in Chiang Mai. These records include 7.5 linear feet (16 boxes) of materials.

Record of the Fourth District (1933, 1947-1979). The Fourth District centers on Phrae, and these records include 1 linear foot (3 boxes) of materials,

Records of the Women's Division (1949-1980). These records include 1.5 linear feet (4 boxes) of materials.

Records of the Lamp of Thailand (1971-1978). These records include one linear foot (3 boxes) of materials.

Records of the Christian Association for Students in the North (1961-1978). These records include 1 linear foot (3 boxes) of materials.

Records of the Church Development and Renewal Project-Chiang Mai Office (1975-1978). These records include 7.5 linear feet (16 boxes) of materials.

In all six of these records groups, printed matter and records reproduced for distribution tend to predominate. However, each group contains some important correspondence, most notably the First District. Each records group is very useful towards grasping some aspect of the over-all work of the CCT. In addition to these fully processed and prepared records groups, the Manuscript Division holds a number of non-processed records groups including: CCT Music Committee; Division of Education; District Three; District Thirteen; Wattana Church (Bangkok); Petburi Church; CCT Youth Department; and the Udorn Center. The records of the Petburi Church deserve special note as they form one of the oldest and most complete continuous local church history files in Thailand. The records of that congregation includes the original minutes of the church dating back to its founding in 1863.

b) *The Payap College Archives*

The Manuscript Division is the Official archives for Payap College. Since Payap College was founded only in 1974, the primary task of the Division in relation to College records is to prepare for the timely transfer of records as they become non-current. Nevertheless, the

Manuscript Division has already accessioned two very important records groups belonging to the College archives.

The Ashmum Photograph Collection (1974-1980). The photographs in this collection were taken by the official College photographer and by other College officials. They number some 5,000 to 6,000 photos and negatives covering nearly the entire span of College activities since before classes opened in 1974. This collection provides excellent photographic evidence and information for Payap College, giving an outstanding visual record of the earliest years of Payap.

Records of the Thailand Theological Seminary (ca. 1955-ca. 1975). In 1979 the Thailand Theological Seminary was merged into Payap College and became the McGilvary Faculty of Theology. Most of the files from the Office of the President of the seminary were transferred to the Manuscript Division. The unprocessed records group included some 10 linear feet (22 boxes) of records including significant amounts of correspondence, reports and minutes. This records group provides excellent insights into the issues and strategies of Protestant theological education. As many present and future leaders in the Church of Christ in Thailand are graduates of the seminary, these records form one set of evidence regarding the training and the ideas of church leaders.

In addition to the CCT Archives and the Payap Archives, the Manuscript Division is the repository for a number of collections of personal papers and collections of photographs. While most of these collections are fragmentary at best, they do provide further insights into the work of the church in Thailand. Most notable of the photograph collections are the McFarland Family Photographs (78 photos), the Thailand Theological Seminary Church History Project Photographs (80 photos), and a collection given by Dr. K. E. Wells (96 photos). In all three cases, there are fine old photographs dating back into the nineteenth century and giving interesting visual insights into missionary and church work in Thailand.

Oral history interviews

Even though the Manuscript Division has attempted to augment its manuscript holdings with microfilmed records from overseas, researchers in Thai church and missions history still face the obstacle of lacking adequate records for various periods and places. Another reason for this lack of records is that in earlier times the importance of keeping files and records was generally little understood. As a result, records sometimes do not exist precisely because they were never kept in the first place. Especially in the period prior to World War II the missionaries tended to be dominant in the keeping of records. The voices of Thai leadership and the average church members tended to be muted and fragmented. Thai records of the Thai Christian experience and history were relatively few and far between.

With the assistance of seed funding and staff assistance from the Dhamma Logos Project, the Manuscript Division began a church oral history project in 1979, the purpose of which was to try to use human memory to fill in some of the gaps in the written records. Although oral history interviews have a limited factual value and need to be used carefully, the Division has

found that these interviews provide an insightful, occasionally colorful picture not only of church history but also of Thai social history.

As of June 1980, the Division had conducted exactly 100 oral history interviews, 86 of which were in Thai and 14 of which were in English. The majority of those interviewed were individuals who had taken a leading role in church activities although in a few cases the individuals were elderly individuals who had been witness to important events. The English language interviews were with missionaries most of whom have retired from the Thailand field. The Manuscript Division is transcribing as many of the interviews as possible, but for the moment nearly all of them are available only on tape. Finding aids are available for each set of interviews. The length of interviews varies considerably but an 'average' interview would amount to between two and four hours of taping time.

Reference materials

Other than records groups, photographic collections and oral history recordings, the Manuscript Division also holds approximately 1,000 reference items divided into three categories: (i) reference books; (ii) reference pamphlets and booklets (defined as any published item too small or too flimsy to be placed unprotected on the shelves; and, (iii) individual manuscripts including some xerox copies of original manuscripts. While some of the books and pamphlets held by the Division will be found in other libraries, many of the Division's reference volumes are in that sense unique. The Division attempts to collect as wide a range of Christian literature as possible whatever its source or literary merit. Thus, the Division's reference collection includes many small items and scripture portions that have otherwise been largely ignored. The aim of the Division is to build up as representative a collection of Thailand Christian reference materials as possible both for the purposes of historical research and for future theological and cultural studies.

The Division holds a number of rare books on Thailand church history including Gutzlaff's *Voyages* (1833), Cort's *Siam, Heart of Farther India* (1886), MacDonald's *Siam* (1871), and Bakus (ed.), *Siam and Laos* (1884). The Division also has copies of more recent but often difficult to locate books such as McGilvary, *A Half-Century Among the Siamese and the Laos* (1912), Freeman, *An Oriental Land of the Free* (1910), and Dodd, *The Tai Race* (1923).

Of particular significance are the several copies and editions of Northern Thai Bibles, Scripture portions, hymnals, and books acquired by the Division primarily from the church history project formerly conducted by the Thailand Theological Seminary. All of these items were printed at the old Mission Press in Chiang Mai and go back to the nineteenth century. Northern Thai language holdings of the Division also include various issues of *Sirikitisap*, held to be the first news publication in the north, which was published by the Presbyterian mission. These various issues date from 1913 to 1920.

Also of note is the Division's complete set of the *Laos News* published as the quarterly news magazine of the Laos Mission, the northern mission of the Presbyterians, and issued from 1904 to 1919. This is an invaluable source for missionary and church work, and for historical developments in northern Thailand.

The Manuscript Division has also embarked on a program of attempting to acquire representative amounts of hill-tribal Christian literature including Bibles, Scripture portions, hymnals and educational materials. Prior to June 1980, the Division had acquired some 90 volumes of Karen and Lahu language Christian literature.

Future acquisitions

The acquisition program of the Manuscript Division has three main goals: (a) intensively to acquire records appropriate to the CCT Archives and the Payap College Archives; (b) to acquire significant and representative records from other Thai Protestant and mission groups; and (c) to bring back to Thailand in original or, if necessary, photocopied form as many church and missionary historical records as possible.

At mid-year 1980, the Division was in contact with over 20 institutions or individuals regarding possible future acquisitions for its holdings. While future donations are always problematic and subject to uncertainties, it seemed highly likely that at least half or more of those contacts would result in additions to the Division's resources. These contacts include institutions and units of the Church of Christ in Thailand at every level, from local churches to the national offices. They also include the personal papers of four missionary families all dating from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. These papers are in each case now in the United States and basically unavailable for convenient scholarly use.

The wide range of possibilities for future acquisitions of high-quality archival records suggests that in years to come the Manuscript Division of Payap College will play an increasingly important role as a source of valuable historical records. Having begun as a strictly part-time, severely limited, experimental program of Payap College, the Division has already developed into a nearly fully staffed, responsible archival institution. It remains the only non-governmental archives in Thailand, and has the distinction of being the first archival institution outside of Bangkok. It is also the only church archives in the southeast Asian region. The ultimate goal of the Manuscript Division is to provide fully professional services acceptable to international standards for its readers and researchers.

Those seeking further information should contact Mr. Herbert R. Swanson, Head of the Manuscript Division, Payap College, P.O. Box 161, Chiang Mai.

OF TEAK AND ELEPHANTS: A TEAK - WALLAH REMINISCES

by

R. W. Wood*

First of all the teak tree. You don't have to go into the forest to see the tree, which grows all round Chiang Mai, in gardens and on roads, and particularly all over the University campus. It is the tree with the yellowish bark, large light green leaves, and just now the white bunches of flower which have a lacy appearance. It takes 80 to 100 years to grow, and at maturity has a girth of about 7 feet, and a height of 60 to 80 feet. It is not the king of the forest in appearance, being branchy and having flutes and buttresses, but is the most valuable of the woods of southeastern Asia. Sometimes it is attacked by creepers, which of course imprison jungle spirits within the teak tree; when passing such trees, a small stick is placed beneath the lean, to support it, because if the tree falls the spirits escape and make trouble.

Reforestation is natural and although plantation schemes have been attempted, little has been achieved, probably due to time lag. You will plant for your son or even your grandson, but thereafter the little so-and-sos have to look after themselves.

The teak seed ripens over the turn of the year and falls in February and March, at which time the forest is hot and dry and the leaves have fallen. These burn gently all over the forest floor, without damage to growing trees, and the early rains in May dibble the seed into the ground, with the ash, so the new plants soon spring up.

Teak is classed as a medium hardwood and is very hard indeed to fall against, if you slip up upon the logs in the forest. It contains silica, which renders it insect-proof, but hard to saw; it is however not difficult to work into furniture and other objects. Its main use has always been shipbuilding; Chinese junks have been made of teak for centuries, and in Europe the ships, and latterly the decks, were made of teak, from the early nineteenth century, in place of exhausted stocks of European oak. 'Hearts of teak are our ships.' In earlier times, pirates in Far Eastern waters built or repaired their ships of teak in ports such as Moulmein in Burma.

A word about teak furniture: the teak tree is always artificially killed by 'ring barking' in the forest and left to dry out for two years before felling and extraction, primarily because the live tree will not float. If furniture is made from live, or as we say, green teak, it will eventually split. I was once very busy at a teak desk which suddenly exploded with a loud report. My assistant ran in hopefully as the manager had appeared depressed that Monday morning, but there was no promotion that day.

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Teak grows in Burma, north and central Thailand and Laos, in that order of quantity and perhaps quality—there is some overspill into neighbouring countries, but it is insignificant. The forests have always belonged to the governments concerned, except in Laos, where they are 'Royal' and remain the property of HM the King. ('The King of Laos my shepherd is, whose timber faileth never. I nothing lack if I have his, but he keeps it all, forever.') Leases and licences are issued by the governmental forest department concerned, and except in minor areas where it is required to clear the whole forest quickly for development or settlement purposes, are worked on what we call a 'sustained yield basis'. The forests are divided into reserves, by stream drainages, and each reserve is worked for 30 years, formerly mainly by European firms, now everywhere under nationalization. I am professionally extinct. Two years before a reserve is due to be worked, the government officer will ring bark and number, with a hammer, the mature teak trees to be extracted in the first year of the lease and will continue annually for 30 years, when the lease closes. Extraction progresses annually in his wake from headwaters to mouth of stream, and in theory may return to starting point at conclusion of the 30-year cycle, sufficient new teak supplies having matured in the interval to replace those extracted. The teak extracted is measured annually by the lessee and government officer, and the government's royalty tax is assessed.

Regarding the history of the teak business in Thailand, the British had moved into upper Burma by 1890, and had greatly expanded their teak business there; they hoped to develop in north Thailand similarly. The first notorious 'teak-wallah' to arrive in Chiang Mai was Louis T. Leonowens, the son of Anna, who was sent up by the Borneo Company from Bangkok in 1888. He found the forests belonged to the chief of Chiang Mai (there was then no government forest department in the country), who was then virtually the local ruler. Leonowens cultivated the chief and used to gamble with him almost nightly; it is said that Leonowens always lost, but after all he would have looked rather silly if he had won. His assistant, Mr. Macfie who eventually died here in 1945, was also called in, as part of his training, but having no transportation was required to swim the river to the palace in his underpants, with dry clothes waiting him on the other bank; he was also given the junior's privilege of gambling with his own money.

Leonowens' diplomacy obtained several leases, as did three other European firms, during the 1890s, mainly in Chiang Mai and Lampang, which also had its palace. The Royal Thai Government Forest Department was formed, originally raised and advised by Englishmen from the Indian Forest Service, and the forests were organized on a sustained-yield basis. Leonowens eventually broke away to form his own firm, it being found by his employers that there was a slight flaw in some of his leases—they were in his own name and not the Company's. The foreign lessees continued in business uninterrupted except for the Second World War, until 1955, when partial nationalization was decreed; total nationalization came in 1960 and today the Forest Industries Organization, which is part of the Royal Forest Department, is the sole lessee.

About forest work. There are, as you know, three seasons in this country—the hot season (March to May), the rains (June to October), and the cold season (November to February). In the hot season forest work ceases: elephants and riders rest and recuperate in camps in good fodder areas, while the rest of us have a short holiday in Chiang Mai—some

doing annual accounts, if we can; some doing almost anything, after months alone in the forest, like reading a good book. Chiang Mai was always as big as Babylon, after the jungle. There is also preparation for the next season's work, and at the start of the rains, all hands go to the forest again and the working year starts. Elephant working camps are built, six elephants to a camp, in each area, and stocked with rice. The European assistant in charge builds himself two or three bamboo huts in strategic places, and also has a tent; he must be as mobile as possible, as it will take him a month to tour his area and visit all his work. He travels with three pack elephants and has his servants and some provisions with him. He may be in charge of as many as 20,000 logs to be produced in the season, and several hundred elephants. Most of these will belong to contractors, who will deliver logs to a specified point for a fixed rate, but he will have a small force of Company elephants to whom the difficult areas are allotted. He is doctor, veterinarian, paymaster, administrator, and walking dogsbody; he is on his own and will not speak his own language for weeks or months; his mail will come in and out by runner from Chiang Mai once a week, which, thank God, is his only link with higher authority; his portable radio will give him some contact with the international scene, if it happens to work; he eats as well as he can, buying local chickens and eggs from villages, and supplements his food, if he can, weekly from Chiang Mai, by aforesaid runner. He may shoot wild pig, or deer, or jungle fowl, but is often too tired or busy for hunting; he drinks water as he needs his own head on his shoulders, and strong legs; he is up before sunrise and filthy by early morning; the teak trees may grow a mile apart and 3,000 feet up the hill, and he has to visit each one; it is vital that he should supervise the cutting up of the felled trees into logs, so that no marketable timber is left behind, and that logs are cut to a maximum length, wherein lies the profit; he may get back to camp in time for an afternoon nap, but by 4 o'clock his office and administration problems commence and he will be busy till 8. If he is not in bed by 9, he should be. No wonder he enjoys a holiday; there are no Sundays in the forest.

His compensation is that he is independent and enjoys responsibility and self-reliance; his hazards are latterly less great; wild beasts and snakes are only serious in theory; his health is nowadays greatly safeguarded by new drugs, though always on his mind; malaria and dysentery used to be his occupational diseases, and blackwater fever and typhoid have decimated him in their time.

The elephants throughout the season work three days and rest two; at the end of each working day, and on rest days, they are loosed in the jungle, with forefeet hobbled to avoid their straying far; they use their spare time feeding themselves, on bamboo, creeper, grasses and bark. Elephants are rather delicate, and require constant care; heartstrain from overwork is frequent, and they should not be worked in the heat of the day. On working days the rider catches his elephant before dawn, washes it and scrubs it with a hard creeper brush, to clean the skin before saddling; the dragging chains and breast band are then put on, and they go to work. Sufficient trees have already been felled on rest days for the working period and sawn up into logs; the elephant pushes and drags the logs away from the tree stump, down to a graded path which the riders have cut out, and drags along the path, day by day, to a delivery point, often some miles away. The drag path must be carefully cut, as continual uneven pulling on the log may cause a chest or back gall on the elephant, which may be the size of football and

full of matter. This must eventually be cut by the assistant, with a sharp knife, and he will have to dodge what comes out. The wound is then disinfected daily with a stirrup pump, and allowed to heal from the inside.

The felling of the trees is done by axe and saw. The native is a wonderful axeman, and hates the saw, but to avoid waste of timber, the saw must mainly be used. Except in special circumstances, a log must not weigh more than five tons, which is the most an elephant can handle in easy country. A tree however will usually yield two to three logs, totalling perhaps only three tons.

Throughout the rains we are working in the mud around the tree stumps, and beginning to drag down towards the forest delivery point. This may be the bank of a floating stream, or a point in open country from which we can put out a dry-weather trucking road to a main river, where the logs can be put off the trucks and collected into rafts. With the coming of the cold season, our life improves; it is often bitterly cold in the forest—we need three blankets at night, and sit over a large campfire, which the elephants have built for us by carrying dry timber to it in their mouths and trunks. We go about in cold sunshine by day and get paid for it as well. We may even have wives touring with us, if we have some, although ancient managers, always with our welfare and their profits in mind, have waved fat fingers at us and said 'in the forest, a bachelor is a man, a married man is half a man, and a married man with children is no man at all'.

The cold season is spent dragging forward to our forest delivery point and there we measure with the government officer for royalty tax, to conclude the year's work in the forest, and the elephants go to their rest area in March. Trucking now starts and goes on throughout the hot season and early rains until the mud takes over again. It should be noted that if we are delivering to a floating stream, or trucking to a main river, what is meant is that there is only water enough to float logs seasonally, and only during the rains, i.e. when there is a spate. Thereafter nothing will go farther than these places until the second year of operations. Bangkok is the market and is perhaps 500 miles away, so that it will be three to five years before the logs get there, from the tree stump.

Let me follow the logs from our first year's work, from the forest delivery point. If the logs are to be floated, they are rolled down the stream bank by the elephants in June and straightened out in the streambed, to await the first spate. They float off on three or four feet of water, and as the spate drops they jamb and stack up on each other, like an upset box of matches; the elephants then go into the water to break up the stacks and a clever elephant will know, without prompting, which log to move, with his trunk or head, to release the whole stack; this is his game of spillikins, and the process has to be repeated throughout the rains and perhaps the next year or two as well, until the logs reach a main river, where they are also collected into rafts and towed down to Bangkok.

Concerning the elephant himself, his life cycle is similar to a human being, if on a more massive scale. The female is usually overcome by the springtime and some lucky male is attached; they wander off into some deep jungle, right out of sight and later on return smiling, trunk in trunk. We then note in our elephant books that we can expect a happy event in about 22 months' time; it is important to keep these records, as pregnancy is not always easy to spot,

and the female must be put off work six months before giving birth. The birth is usually also away in the jungle and there is one calf, though twins occasionally occur. Another female, or auntie, will attach herself, to mother and calf, as a protection, particularly against tiger who like young elephant. The calf is weaned at three years and remains wild till then. At three, we take the calf away from the mother and train it; it is put into a triangular enclosure called a 'crush' and tied fore and hind legs, and the trainer, with infinite patience, teaches it to accept a man on its back, to allow hobbles on its forefeet and to respond to the rider's words of command and the guiding movements of his feet behind the elephant's ears. Cruelty in training will result in the elephant being savage. Some males later become man-killers; savage females are rare, but very dangerous; the mother of the white elephant calf at Chiang Mai zoo has killed three people.

From the age of three to 18, the young elephants have little to do, but may be used as pack animals. At 18 they join a working camp and learn the technique of timber extraction; this they pick up very quickly, no doubt from the examples around them. They reach full height of seven to eight feet in their 20s, and are fully mature at 30. They work best between 30 and 40, but by 50 are slowing down, after which they move to light work, or pack work, until they die in harness between 60 and 70. The female of the Asiatic species does not have tusks; some calves are born without tusks, some with only one tusk.

Elephants are sensitive and vary greatly in temperament; some are savage, some completely docile and some hopelessly nervous; and some lazy; it is strange that a dangerous elephant is often easier than others to approach for doctoring, when a nervous one will dance, and even tread upon your feet, accidentally. Savage elephants are also usually the strongest workers. Signs of health in an elephant are fatness and alertness, with ears and tail constantly flapping; also sweating at the toenails, which seems strange. A sick elephant is thin and listless and has weeping eyes; this may be overwork, or parasites, or perhaps a wasting disease called surra. Medicine can be readily given to an elephant, usually wrapped in balls of rice or fruit; some elephants are suspicious and will open up the wrapper with the tip of the trunk, blow out the pill and then swallow the sweet. Elephants are inoculated against anthrax each year, which could otherwise wipe out the whole herd; this is done into the skin behind the shoulder, and can be a frightening business, usually delegated to the most junior assistant, after demonstration.

Most male elephants each year develop a condition called musth. The symptom is an oily dribble from glands on either side of the head, and the condition renders him temporarily dangerously mad. It may last a few days or some weeks. It is thought to be sexual, but not proved to be so. A musth tusker will kill a female elephant as readily as anything else that he meets. The only cure is to tie him up until it passes.

Lastly, the co-operation between man and animal is a vital feature of the work; often a rider will stay with his elephant for years and they understand each other perfectly, the elephant responding to words of command and sometimes working in silence while he intelligently pursues his own method, problem by problem.

After working with teak and elephants, nothing can quite take its place. You can take a man out of the jungle, but you can't take the jungle out of a man.

REVIEWS

จิตรกรรมแบบสากลสกุลช่างขรัวอินโข่ง

Khrua In Khong's Westernized School of Thai Painting

*by Wiyada Thongmitr; photographs by Phaitun Thinphong, Surachai Margmaitri
and No Na Pak Nam*

Thai Painting Series No. 1; in Thai and English

Thai Cultural Data Centre 1979; 141 pp.; 400 baht (US \$ 20.-)

The reviewer of this volume is Pairoj Samosorn, lecturer in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Khon Kaen University. He feels that this publication well serves the objectives of making the paintings of Khrua In Khong better known, and of promoting conservation of the Thai artistic heritage. However, certain technical aspects of the publication could be improved, thereby enhancing appreciation of the artist's work. (a) Some of the illustrations are unimportant, including those of other artists' paintings and of temples where paintings are located; the space should have been utilized for more paintings by Khrua In Khong. (b) The illustrations do not include all the best or most representative of Khrua In Khong's paintings; some important ones may have been omitted, for instance, because they are not easily photographed. (c) The illustrations in several cases should have been enlarged, spanning two pages instead of being crowded onto a single page with wide margins; extraneous portions of some illustrations should have been cut out. The result is that we do not have a close enough view of the fineness of detail which is a hallmark of Khrua In Khong's work.

Khrua In Khong created a new and 'exotic' genre of Buddhist art, which drew on the style of Western painters whose lands he himself had never visited. The reviewer comments on Khrua In Khong's techniques, style and spiritual purposes, how they differed from those of earlier Thai artists, and the significance of his ideas of space and naturalism for Thai religious painting. — Hon. Ed.

ในขณะที่ศิลปวัฒนธรรมแทบจะทุกสาขากำลังแตกดับลงไปทุกช่วงขณะ อันเป็นผลมาจากภัยที่เกิดขึ้นตามธรรมชาติ ซึ่งเป็นภัยที่ไม่สามารถจะหลีกเลี่ยงได้ เป็นไปตามกฎแห่งกรรมทางหลักธรรมของพุทธศาสนา และผลจากประชาชนในชาติที่มีจิตใจห้างเหินไม่เห็นคุณค่าความสำคัญ ประกอบกับประชาชนบางกลุ่มบางเหล่ากลับหาหนทางทำลายทรัพย์สินอันเป็นสมบัติที่บรรพบุรุษได้สร้างสมมาอย่างวิจิตรบรรจง ภัยลักษณะนี้ถือว่าเป็นมหันตภัย เป็นความงดงามด้านศิลปที่กำลังผลิดอกออกผลกระจายออกไปสู่นิเวศกว้าง

ท่ามกลางความร้อนหนาว อันเกิดจากภัยอันตรายรอบทิศดังกล่าว ยังมีกลุ่มชน องค์กร บริษัท ที่มีคุณธรรมมองเห็นคุณค่าความงามอันเป็นเอกลักษณ์ของศิลปกรรมไทยที่ยังหลงเหลืออยู่บ้างประปราย ต่างกำลังหาหนทางเพื่อจะยืดชีวิตให้สมบัติอันล้ำค่าเหล่านั้นให้มีอายุยืนยาวออกไปเท่าที่สามารถจะกระทำได้

บริษัท เมืองโบราณ อันเป็นบริษัทที่ก่อตั้งขึ้นโดยบุคคลที่มีได้ร่ำรวยเฉพาะสินทรัพย์ที่เป็นเงินทอง แต่ทว่าจิตใจยังเปี่ยมล้นไปด้วยคุณธรรมมองเห็นคุณค่าความงาม ได้เชื่อเชิญบุคคลผู้มีความรู้ความสามารถเป็นพิเศษ ให้ความสนใจในศิลปวัฒนธรรมเป็นจำนวนมากมาร่วมงาน

นอกเหนือจากการจ้างงานสถาปัตยกรรม อันได้แก่อาคารปูชนียสถานสำคัญ ๆ จากภาคต่าง ๆ ให้มีความใกล้เคียงตรงกับหลักฐานเดิมมากที่สุดเท่าที่จะทำได้ นำมาตั้งไว้ในเมืองโบราณ สมุทรปราการแล้ว ยังมีการตีพิมพ์วารสารเมืองโบราณ วารสารที่มีเนื้อหาสาระเกี่ยวข้องกับศิลปวัฒนธรรมโดยตรง แม้ว่าต้นทุนค่าใช้จ่ายทางด้านการจัดพิมพ์จะสูงกว่าราคาจำหน่ายถึงเท่าตัว แต่ทางบริษัทก็ยินดี นับว่าเป็นกุศลอันล้นพ้น

จากสาเหตุดังกล่าว ทำให้เกิดจิตรกรรมแบบสากลสกุลช่างขรวินโห่ง โดย วิยะดา ทองมิตร ซึ่งจัดพิมพ์โดย ศูนย์ส่งเสริมและค้นคว้าศิลปวัฒนธรรมไทย ถ่ายภาพโดย ไพฑูรย์ ทิณพงษ์ สุรชาย มากไมตรี และ น. ณ ปากน้ำ

ประยูร อรุชาวุฒะ, ศรีศักร วัลลิโกดม, สุพร วิริยะพันธุ์ เป็นที่ปรึกษา

จิตรกรรมไทยแต่เดิม นิยมเขียนภาพประดับฝาผนัง โบสถ์หรือวิหาร อันเป็นสถานที่ศักดิ์สิทธิ์เนื่องในพระพุทธศาสนา สืบเนื่องจากวัดเป็นศูนย์รวมของชาวบ้าน จิตรกรรมฝาผนังส่วนใหญ่่มักจะหนีไม่พ้นภาพจากเรื่องราวของพุทธประวัติ หรือทศชาติชาดก

จิตรกรรมฝาผนัง เป็นภาพที่สื่อความหมายใช้แทนการบอกกล่าวโดยตัวหนังสือ โบสถ์วิหารจึงเปรียบเสมือนกับสถานศึกษาศิลปวิทยาการต่าง ๆ ในอดีต

จิตรกรรมที่ศรัทธาปสาทะอย่างแรงกล้าต่อพุทธศาสนา การสร้างงานจิตรกรรมฝาผนังจึงเปรียบเสมือนพุทธบูชา สิ่งนี้จะส่งผลให้ภาพเขียนมีความวิจิตรบรรจง สวยงามสุดจะพรรณนา

หัวใจที่แสดงออกให้เห็นถึงความสวยงาม ความงามอันอ่อนหวาน ละเมียดละไม จะเน้นอยู่ที่เส้น โดยมีค่านึงถึงเรื่องของแสงและเงา ภาพที่ปรากฏจึงมีลักษณะเพียง ๒ มิติ ซึ่งตรงกันข้ามกับจิตรกรรมทางตะวันตกที่คำนึงถึงความจริงซึ่งมีลักษณะ ๓ มิติ

แทนที่ขรวินโห่งจะเขียนภาพพระพุทธประวัติหรือทศชาติชาดกเหมือนกับจิตรกรรมไทย โดยทั่วไป กลับแสดงความเด่นและสร้างชื่อเสียงให้ขรวินโห่งลือลั่น คือ เขียนภาพแบบปรีศนาธรรม โดยใช้ตัว

ละครและอาคารเป็นแบบฝรั่งทั้งหมด และเขียนภาพในลักษณะ ๓ มิติ มูลเหตุเหล่านี้เป็นการปฏิรูปร่างศิลปกรรมของไทยทางด้านจิตรกรรมโดยสิ้นเชิง ควบคู่กับศิลปะปั้นเอกในสมัย โปสท์-อิมเพรสชันนิสม์ ที่คิดค้นวิธีการแสดงออกทางด้านศิลปะในรูปแบบใหม่ของยุโรป

“สำหรับสีที่ใช้ในจิตรกรรมไทยสมัยก่อนหน้าขรรวอินโข่ง มักนิยมใช้กันมีเพียงไม่กี่สี คือ สีดำ สีแดง สีขาว สีที่กล่าวมานี้เป็นสีที่มาจากธรรมชาติ เช่น เขม่าควันไฟ ดิน หรือยางไม้ สมัยอยุธยาเน้นนิยมเขียนภาพด้วยสีอ่อน ถ้าจะมีการตัดเส้นก็จะใช้เส้นเองตัดเส้น หรือใช้สีเข้มขึ้นเล็กน้อย และปิดทองในส่วนที่สำคัญเท่านั้น สำหรับภาพเขียนในสมัยรัตนโกสินทร์ นิยมใช้สีเข้มเป็นพื้น ปิดทองทั่วไป ทำให้ภาพลอยเด่นออกมาจากผนัง เป็นลักษณะค่อนข้างไปในทางศิลปตกแต่ง (decorative art) ล่วงมาสมัยรัชกาลที่ ๔ ซึ่งมีสีสดให้แปลก ๆ ส่งมาจากเมืองจีน เช่น สีเหลือง เขียว คราม สีชาด และสีเสน เป็นเหตุให้จิตรกรรมรัชกาลที่ ๔ ใช้สีได้หรรหามาก ดังเช่นภาพวาดในผนังพระอุโบสถวัดมณีมาวาส สงขลา และภาพวาดในผนังพระอุโบสถวัดอ่างศิลา ชลบุรี เป็นต้น ถึงกระนั้นท่านขรรวอินโข่งก็มิได้นิยมในสีฉูดฉาดเหล่านี้ ด้วยท่านเป็นนักฝันประกอบด้วยท่านชอบเขียนภาพวิวและบ้านเรือนแบบยุโรปอันเป็นงานฝัน ไม่ผิดอะไรกับนิราศลอนดอนของหม่อมราโชทัย ภาพเขียนของท่านจึงดูเหมือนจะเป็นภาพอันค่อย ๆ ผุดเด่นขึ้นมาในท่ามกลางความสลัวของสีเทาและดำเข้ม อันเป็นลักษณะของศิลปะที่ฝันไปยงชาติภูมิต่าง ๆ (exotic art) โดยแท้

ขรรวอินโข่งจะใช้สีประเภทเอกรงค์ (monochrome) สีที่เห็นได้ชัด คือสีน้ำเงินเข้ม สีเขียว สีน้ำตาล นอกจากนั้นก็ใช้สีอ่อน ๆ เช่น สีฟ้า สีชมพู สีขาว ฯลฯ การใช้สีเอกรงค์นี้จะทำให้ภาพมีความกลมกลืน เพราะไม่มีการใช้สีที่ขัดกันอย่างมาก ทำให้ภาพมีบรรยากาศสลัว ๆ ทึม ๆ ชวนให้เพื่อฝันไปตามอารมณ์ที่ศิลปินต้องการ สีพื้นส่วนใหญ่เป็นสีเข้ม ดังเช่นภาพเขียนวัดบวรนิเวศ ฯ เครื่องแต่งกายของชายหนุ่มมักจะเป็นสีน้ำเงินเข้มและขาว ส่วนกระโปรงของหญิงสาวจะใช้สีชมพู สีฟ้าอ่อน ๆ มองดูเป็นส่วนที่อ่อนหวานอ่อนแอทรกอยู่ในความมืดสลัวราง ๆ เลือน ๆ ” (หน้า ๒๕-๒๖)

เพื่อที่จะชักนำให้ผู้อ่านได้เข้าใจชีวิตการทำงานของท่านขรรวอินโข่ง และลักษณะการเขียนภาพจิตรกรรมฝาผนังของไทยแต่เดิม เปรียบเทียบกับความเป็นเอกลักษณ์เฉพาะตัวของขรรวอินโข่งนั้น วิยะดา ทองมิตร สามารถค้นหาข้อมูลมาได้ในปริมาณที่น่าพอใจ อาจจะเป็นเพราะมีที่ปรึกษาเป็นผู้ชำนาญทางศิลปวัฒนธรรมที่หาได้น้อยนักในประเทศ

เนื่องจากเป็นหนังสือที่ต้องทุ่มเททั้งกำลังกายและกำลังเงินอย่างมากแล้ว ก็ได้แต่หวังจะให้หนังสือปรากฏออกมาในรูปแบบที่สวยงามทั้งทางเนื้อหาและภาพประกอบ แต่หลังจากได้พิจารณาแล้ว ภาพประกอบเรื่องยังไม่จุใจเท่าที่ควรจะเป็น อาจจะขึ้นอยู่กับปัญหาในการถ่ายทำ แต่ก็น่าจะแก้ไขและปรับให้เกิดรสทุกสณานในตอนการจัดวางภาพ ซึ่งนั่นนะ เจริญพันธ์ ผู้ออกแบบได้เคยฝากความเก่งกาจมาแล้วมากต่อมากน่าจะทำได้ดีกว่า

ภาพดอกบัวใหญ่บานอยู่ในสระ จากผนังวัดบวรนิเวศและจากวัดบรมนิวาส น่าจะนำมาวางให้ใกล้ชิด เพื่อเปรียบเทียบให้เห็นความแตกต่างของลักษณะความแม่นยำของฝีแปรงและคุณค่าทางศิลปะที่ให้อารมณ์ความรู้สึกที่เหนือและด้อยกว่ากัน ซึ่งพอจะมองเห็น ได้ชัดพอประมาณว่าภาพใดดีเด่นกว่ากัน

ภาพที่สมควรขยายขนาดของภาพให้เต็มทั้งสองหน้าใหญ่ หรืออาจเพิ่มเป็นหน้าต่อกันอีกหน้าหนึ่งก็น่าจะทำได้ ภาพดังกล่าวเป็นภาพการไปนมัสการพระพุทธบาทสระบุรี จากผนังตรงข้ามพระประธานอุโบสถวัดมหาสมณาราม เพชรบุรี ดูราวกับว่าจะเป็นภาพมาสเตอร์พีซของขรรค์อินโข่งเลยทีเดียว ภาพที่นำมาตีพิมพ์นั้น มีขนาดพอกับภาพอื่น ๆ ดูแล้วยังไม่จู้จี้ เพราะเป็นภาพที่บรรจุรายละเอียดไว้หลายทหลายตอน ราวกับมหาอุปการชั้นเอกที่ประกอบขึ้นด้วยองค์หลายองค์ ภาพที่ขยายให้เห็นส่วนละเอียด (detail) ก็มีภาพตอนอื่นมาสอดแทรก ทำให้ขจัดอารมณ์ความรู้สึก เช่นการนำเอาภาพการนมัสการพระปฐมเจดีย์ ซึ่งเป็นภาพที่ปรากฏอยู่บนผนังอีกด้านหนึ่งมาค้น ไม่ทราบว่าจะเป็นการจงใจหรือเป็นการบกพร่องตอนเข้าหน้า พร้อมกับภาพพระพุฒาจารย์ (ศรี) ไปสืบศาสนาที่ลังกาที่ปรากฏอยู่บนผนังด้านหลังองค์พระประธาน

ภาพการนมัสการพระพุทธบาทน่าจะมีการตัดตอนให้เห็นส่วนที่เห็นรายละเอียดได้หลาย ๆ ส่วน เช่น กลุ่มของตัวอาคาร สถาปัตยกรรมบริเวณองค์พระพุทธบาท ซึ่งแสดงให้เห็นหมู่สงฆ์สี่สน์เหลืองอร่ามสวยสดงดงาม และอุบาสกอุบาสิกากำลังเดินทยอยเพื่อนมัสการพระพุทธบาท

เบื้องล่างลงมาจะเห็นกลุ่มชนกำลังขบระบำรำฟ้อนด้วยความรื่นเริง สนุกสนาน

ไล่ลงมาจะเป็นอาคารบ้านเรือน ประกอบด้วยผู้คนมากหน้าหลายตาที่อยู่ในระหว่างการเดินทาง บ้างก็มาด้วยเกวียนเทียมกระบือ หรือด้วยช้างกันเป็นส่วนใหญ่

ภาพของสถานที่ที่เป็นภาพจิตรกรรมฝีมือของขรรค์อินโข่ง เช่นภาพพิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติ หอศิลป์กรุงเทพฯ หรือภาพวัดบวรนิเวศ หากไม่นำมาลงไว้ก็ไม่ควรจะเสียหายอะไรมากนัก และกระดาษรองปกก่อนจะถึงชื่อของหนังสือแทนที่จะเป็นภาพไทยที่ได้มาจากตู้พระธรรม แม้ว่าจะมีความสวยงาม แต่ถ้าหากนำเอาภาพรายละเอียดจากส่วนหนึ่งส่วนใด จากฝีมือของขรรค์อินโข่งมาตีพิมพ์ ก็คิดว่าน่าจะสร้างบรรยากาศให้ดีขึ้นกว่าเดิม

จะอย่างไรก็ตาม ผลงานของขรรค์อินโข่ง โดย วิยะดา ทองมิตร เป็นหนังสือที่ผุดขึ้นจากความอับเฉาทางศิลปวัฒนธรรมที่คนไทยเรามองข้ามความสำคัญ ควรแก่การจับต้องเพื่อการพินิจพิจารณา

และมีความเชื่อว่า อีกไม่นานคงจะมีโอกาสได้เห็นวารสารหรือหนังสือที่เกี่ยวข้องกับศิลปะของไทย ที่กำลังหลง ๆ ลืม ๆ ในรูปลักษณะของเนื้อหา และภาพที่ละเอียดประณีตมากขึ้น

พอจะกล่าวได้ว่าบุคคลที่อยู่ในวงการศิลปวัฒนธรรมน่าจะลองพิจารณาหนังสือเล่มนี้ เพื่อที่จะทำให้เกิดความรู้ความเข้าใจในตัวของศิลปินที่สร้างสรรค์งานศิลป์ และลักษณะอันเป็นแบบฉบับของไทยทางด้านจิตรกรรมที่เป็นมาแต่เดิม แล้วเปรียบเทียบความเป็นอัจฉริยะของขรรค์อินโง่งที่มีความเป็นเอกลักษณ์ของตนโดยเฉพาะ โดยมีได้ยึดมั่นถ่อมตนจากคติดั้งเดิม

ไพโรจน์ สโมสร

คณะมนุษยศาสตร์และสังคมศาสตร์
มหาวิทยาลัยขอนแก่น

The World of Buddhism : a Pictorial Presentation

by John Blofeld

Bangkok, the Siam Society, 1980; 62 + iv pp.; 100 baht

The World of Buddhism is an elegant and lucid introduction to the variety of Buddhism for the interested layman. Whilst primarily intended as a graphic presentation, the introduction and three chapters of text provide essential information and context as well as references for further reading.

In chapter one the author, John Blofeld, discusses the basic tenets of the Buddhist doctrine, paying particular attention to those elements in Buddhism which the typical Western mind finds most difficult to grasp. For example, Western people find difficulty in understanding a 'religion' which is not concerned with a supreme deity and individual prayer and redemption.

Blofeld highlights one of Buddhism's most interesting features, namely the acceptance of doctrinal divergence and of differentials of competence in the doctrine as between Buddhists. It is not expected that each and every person will attain the highest levels of spiritual enlightenment. There is, in effect, a religious division of labour which assigns different and complementary roles to Buddhist monks, to Buddhist lay persons, and expects a range of different competencies within those broad categories. The author also discusses the doctrine of karmic causality and its purported and actual social consequences and correlates.

In chapter two Blofeld discusses the historical development of Buddhism and the schisms which have taken place, resulting in the establishment of Theravada and Mahayana schools of Buddhism. Theravada Buddhism is the majority religion of Thailand, Sri Lanka, Laos, Cambodia and Burma; whilst Mahayana Buddhism is to be found in Japan, China, Korea, and Viet Nam, with smaller communities elsewhere in Asia.

Theravada or "Lesser Vehicle" Buddhism has taken remarkably similar forms in all the countries of southeast Asia in which it has taken root. In several instances (notably Thailand, Laos and Cambodia) where it has become the state religion, the religious hierarchy parallels the state system which it buttresses and is supported by.

Mahayana Buddhism on the other hand has seldom become the state religion in any of the countries where it has become prevalent and the Sangha (monkhood) has evolved special characteristics of dress and eating habits in its various habitats.

As far as doctrinal differences are concerned, a major distinction between the two schools relates to the concept of Bodhisattvas. Mahayana Buddhism holds that there are innumerable Bodhisattvas in existence, i.e. "beings who on achieving Enlightenment, have renounced Nirvana out of compassion for the myriad sentient beings still lost in darkness" and therefore

still needing guidance. Theravadins, on the other hand, still believe that attainment of Enlightenment involves total negation of the constituent parts of the personality and that the question of one being assisting another to achieve Enlightenment does not arise. The two schools also differ in some important ways as to the connotation given to the term "Buddha".

Blofeld has a most interesting section in this chapter concerning Buddhist iconography, which not surprisingly reflects the doctrinal differences discussed earlier. Buddhist iconography also reflects the "compromise between the austerity of the Dharma (Law) with its emphasis on discipline and meditation, and the popular desire for mystery and magic. . ."

Blofeld also discusses some recent trends in Buddhism including its emergence as a political force, as in Viet Nam or Burma, and its new and increasing popularity in Western society.

In his final chapter on "Buddhism in everyday life", Blofeld discusses the various social forms and practices observed by monks and laity in different countries, and the behavior patterns prevalent between the two groups.

The photographs are grouped under three headings: (a) Buddhist iconography, (b) temples, and (c) monks and laity. The latter is probably of particular interest to the non-expert in that monks, nuns and lay persons are shown in some activities never captured by the passing journalist and yet entirely characteristic to anyone familiar with those countries. I would single out for particular notice the group of Thai nuns sheltering from the sun under their umbrella, or the Thai monks at the Temple of the Emerald Buddha neatly winding on their robes prior to a ceremony. The Tibetan Lamas pausing with their long horns has similar striking effect.

It is a pity, given their content, that the photographs are not better reproduced and more spaciouly laid out. However this remains a minor defect in a publication which is both scholarly and informative.

Jane Bunnag

Bangkok

The Five Faces of Thailand : an Economic Geography

by *Wolf Donner*

Institute of Asian Affairs, Hamburg

St. Lucia, Australia; University of Queensland Press, 1978; 930 + xxii pp., illus.; \$A 26.50

The Five Faces of Thailand is the latest addition to that diffuse body of literature once pejoratively referred to by a former editor of this journal as "text-book Thailand" (Larry Sternstein, "Text-book Thailand", *JSS*, vol. LIII part I, January 1965, pp. 123-126). The textbook character is evident in its manifestly pedagogical style and organization as well as its presentation of a thorough compilation of established fact and conventional opinion devoid of fresh analysis or interpretation. That this is the author's intention is voiced in his introductory hope to "serve both the foreigner, who comes to the kingdom with a specific task and wants to learn briefly the environmental facts of the country, and the student and teacher, who will understand the multiplicity of detailed problems which will have to be studied in depth" (p. xix).

The thematic conception of the book is impressive — no less than a full-scale survey of the economic geography of each of Thailand's five "faces", or regions: the south, northeast, north, centre, and Greater Bangkok. Actually, a sixth "face" is included, as the centre is considered to consist of the centre *per se* and the southeast. The designation of regions is a well-worn and controversial issue in Thai studies. Donner has compromised between geographic, economic and political criteria in defining Thailand's regions as groups of contiguous *changwat* identified in terms of their common topographic features, except for Greater Bangkok, which is distinguished from the centre on the basis of its unique industrial and commercial structure. This pragmatic resolution of the issue results in a specification of Thailand's regions different from but no less unsatisfactory than those that have been adopted by other studies and by the Thai government for administrative and planning purposes.

In organization the book is divided into separate parts discussing each of the abovementioned six regions plus a lengthy introductory part on the country as a whole. Each of these seven parts in turn consists of sections describing the geography (consisting of standardized subsections on topography, hydrology, climate, and soils and vegetation), people (consisting of histories of major towns and descriptions of local ethnic groups), and economy (consisting of subsections on each production sector, ranging from agriculture through tourism). In his effort to provide comprehensive surveys of each region as well as the nation as a whole, Donner has in effect prepared seven minitexts, a useful device for readers wishing an introduction to one region or another, but making for considerable repetition.

A reconstruction of the circumstances under which the book came to be written, based on clues scattered through the text, is illuminating. The author was stationed in Bangkok between 1969 and 1972, his assignment being part of a United Nations research project on soil fertility

involving the preparation of background studies on the economic geography of the northeast and southeast; revised versions of these studies form major elements of the present book. It would appear that Donner brought the idea for this book with him to Thailand, continuing the tradition established with his earlier economic geography of another country in which he had seen service (*Nepal: Raum, Mensch und Wirtschaft*; Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1972). He budgeted his brief tenure in Thailand to good advantage with this objective in mind, preparing research studies which would serve as raw material for future chapters, collecting supplementary field notes during extensive travels throughout each region, culling materials from a cross-section of the standard textbook literature on the country, and accumulating a file of newspaper clippings and documents. *The Five Faces of Thailand* is firmly grounded on this laboriously compiled store of information.

No effort will be expended here to elaborate on the book's many shortcomings as a text — its heavy reliance on outdated and secondary sources, its use of decade-old economic and demographic data as "current" information, its frequent emphasis on trivia to the neglect of points of relative importance, its superficial treatment of the economy, its failure to integrate the geographic and economic dimensions as might be expected of a true economic geography, and so forth. In concluding his book, Donner enters the following whimsical reflection (p. 893): "looking back on this piece of work and on his experience in Thailand, the author tends more toward geography than towards economics. This is easily understandable." What is not understandable to this reviewer is why, recognizing his limitations, Donner did not restrict himself to producing a straightforward regional geography; such a modified approach would have reduced the book's shortcomings to manageable proportions.

The Five Faces of Thailand will probably find its way onto many bookshelves solely because of its impressive bulk. And there it will rest, an object lesson reflecting the economist's aphorism, "more ain't necessarily better than less". Donner might well have heeded Sternstein's advice (Sternstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 126): "much basic work — painfully slow slogging research — remains to be done in Thailand. Humbly, I enter a plea for a bit of silence whilst the job of providing this basic information proceeds. Such forbearance must be rewarded by a sophisticated generalization — a text in the true sense — at some future date."

Edward Van Roy

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Foreign Policy of Thailand

by Ganganath Jha

New Delhi, Radiant Publishers, 1979; 195 pp.; 200 baht (no price in India quoted)

In the preface to his study of Thai foreign policy, Ganganath Jha poses these questions: "Has Thai foreign policy paid adequate attention to its moral aspects? Have not the relations of Thailand with its neighbouring countries been vitiated by mutual suspicion? Has the policy of opposing Communism given Thailand the advantages it has sought? Has the United States provided the necessary safeguards to Thailand to protect its national security?"

Jha sets out to measure these imponderables. From the way his thesis is framed, it can be deduced, correctly, that he is on the side of the liberal angels. Jha clearly does not approve of Thailand's on-again, off-again love affair with the United States; but his comments are restrained, as befits an Indian scholar (he is a PhD of Jawaharlal Nehru University).

Large sections of this slim volume are devoted to Thailand's involvement in the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Quoting Neuchterlein, Jha reminds us that Thailand is the "key country" in Southeast Asia. The Americans believed that if Thailand, with the help of the United States and other friendly powers, was maintained as a strong base and prosperous anti-Communist bulwark, the growing threat from the Chinese and North Vietnamese communists might be checked and contained.

Jha traces the Thai-American connection in some detail, starting with *MR* Seni Pramoj's handling of Thailand's declaration of war on the US after the Japanese occupation. As a result of *MR* Seni's diplomatic skill, the US not only ignored the declaration, but pledged its support for Thailand's resistance movement against the Japanese. After the war, the friendship between the two countries was strengthened. The US supported Thailand's application for membership in the United Nations, and (though this point is not fully treated by Jha) prevailed on Britain not to exact heavy war reparations from Thailand.

The author examines the course of Thai-American relations at some length. Among his *trouvailles* is the "Secret Contingency Plan" negotiated between the two countries (apparently in 1969, although Jha does not give the precise date), which, according to a statement attributed by the author to Senator William Fulbright, provided for the commitment of a substantial number of US troops to Thailand in certain circumstances. The plan was apparently a supplement to the Thanat-Rusk communiqué of March 1962, by which the Manila Treaty—the legal basis of SEATO—became in effect a bilateral pact.

Jha traces the history of SEATO from its beginnings in 1954 through its steady decline in the 1960s and 1970s. But the final winding up of SEATO in 1977 and the subsequent declarations that the US government regards the Manila Pact as still valid, are not mentioned by Jha. An inexplicable defect of his book is that although published in 1979, it covers developments only up to the early months of 1974.

This unusual hiatus between compilation and publication means that the rapid shifts in Thai (and ASEAN) foreign policy after the Communist victories in Indochina in 1975 are not covered. However, the chapter on Thailand's relations with the Indochina states, though outdated by events, remains a useful survey of developments in earlier years. The origins of the Khmer Serei (now a potent source of trouble on the Thai-Kampuchean frontier) are traced from their beginnings in the mid-1960s. Jha devotes much attention to Thai support for this and other anti-Communist forces in Kampuchea, Laos and South Viet Nam. He scarcely conceals his disapproval of these activities, as the following passage shows: "It is, of course, technically true that Thai irregulars were never registered as Thai troops, but it is a fact that they went to Laos at the behest of the military Government of Thailand . . . Indeed the activities of the Thai irregulars are a major irritant in Thai-Laotian relations today."

Despite its obvious bias, Jha's survey packs a great deal of information from a wide range of sources into small compass. And also despite the bias, he reaches a balanced conclusion. He writes: ". . . the greatest asset of Thai foreign policy has been its flexibility. If the decision makers are convinced that a particular policy is unable to serve the interests of Thailand, they take suitable steps to modify their policy or to evolve a new policy: they do not persist with any policy to the bitter end."

Few would cavil at that assessment.

John Stirling

Bangkok

Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma

edited by *Bardwell L. Smith*

South and Southeast Asia Studies

Chambersburg, Pennsylvania; Anima Books, 1978; 231 + xi pp. •

With its deceptively broad title, this book brings together a fine collection of primarily descriptive articles dealing with the role of Theravada Buddhism, its Sangha and its cosmology in legitimizing political, that is mostly royal, power during two periods of recorded Thai history, namely fourteenth-century Sukhothai and fourteenth to sixteenth-century Lan Na Thai, and the period from King Taksin up to the present. Laos is not considered otherwise than in F. Reynolds's two short and innocent *religionswissenschaftliche* articles about the universal relationship between ritual and social hierarchy, and the role of the holy emerald jewel in legitimizing royal power in both Laos and Thailand; these chapters serve the mere padding of the book. Also the two chapters about Burma appear to be out of place, Sarkisyanz's article dealing with his well-known preoccupation with the idiosyncrasies of some Burmese intellectuals with the compatibility of Buddhism and socialism (1965), while Ferguson's interesting article about the Shwegyin sect rather reverses the basic argument of the book in demonstrating the sect's legitimation by royal blessing.

The editor's preface promises that the chapters should have as their purpose "to go beyond the merely descriptive approach to the subject and to help sharpen theoretical tools, i.e., to perceive new ways of analyzing the ongoing relationship between various kinds of ideology and political, social and economic power" (p. vi). While most authors make modest attempts in that direction, there is no question about "various kinds of ideology". To remedy this situation a final chapter, "Some observations on the dynamics of traditions", has been added in which S.N. Eisenstadt presents the reader with his modern Hebrew cabalism: nebulous, futile and yet pretentious.

With the exception of F. Reynolds's felicitous concept of "civic religion", meaning the celebration of a variety of unifying national symbols as a quasi-religious act (see below), all other authors have the nexus Buddhism and political power as their subject. This narrow treatment leaves animism and Brahmanism beyond their focus as if these latter were not religious. Moreover, I was amazed not to find any reference to popular and most widespread legitimations of royal power, such as the king's protective *saksit* (ศักดิ์สิทธิ์) quality, or his combining of virtuous goodness (*phrakhun*, พระคุณ) and righteous power (*phradeed*, พระเดช). It is only Sarkisyanz who anticipated this problem in the very last sentence of his article when he writes that pre-Buddhist and non-Buddhist attitudes toward physical force as authority, or habits of dread and propitiation of spirit-oriented animism that satisfy the human needs for dependence, can offer a more basic and indigenous rationale for the acceptance and legitimation of power than Theravada Buddhism can (p. 95).

The chapters dealing with Thailand, however, are rather well integrated and present an interesting picture within the confines delineated as above. The scant availability of early sources necessarily directs attention to the relationship between the two historical central institutions of the Thai polity, namely the institution of kingship and institutionalized Buddhism, a successful reign legitimizing its power by a revitalization of the Sangha, a prospering monkhood being an indicator of political success. This is apparent in Andaya's discussion of "Statecraft in the reign of Lü Thai"; this interesting first chapter also casts a new light on the resilience of the later Sukhothai kingdom. Swearer and Premchit's study of Northern Thai chronicles illustrates the intricacies of political manipulation of the Sangha as a means to justify royal power, while arguing that a strong and well-developed nexus between politics and religion may well lead to the prosperity of both, even providing the context for the florescence of significant Buddhist scholarship.

It is a pity that the latter authors did not further explore whether the relationships between religion and political power that they established for fourteenth to sixteenth-century Lan Na Thai are typical (as they hypothesize) or not, although most other authors emphasize the typicality of the relationship between successful kingship and a healthy state of the Sangha. Such, at least, is the pervasive argument in Butt's and Kirsch's chapters about the development of Thai kingship and religious reform from Taksin to Mongkut and Chulalongkorn. The intricacies of legitimation are well elaborated in Butt's chapter that emphasizes the corresponding relationship between the state of the Buddhist scriptures (and the Sangha) and the condition of society: religion, society and its history serving a sense of identity and continuity, and are as such vital to national life. When he starts speculating about the nexus kingship-reformed religion in these modern times (p. 49), when the legitimation of political power has also become dependent on popular recognition and the institution of secular law, I have my misgivings, because in these modern days it may be surmised that the basically animistic *saksit* qualities of power and the recognized *phrakhun* of the monarch serve as a more fertile ground for the legitimation of power than its connexion with institutionalized Buddhism as such. These same misgivings concern also Kirsch's contribution that mainly focuses on the continuing modernizing influences of the Thammayut monks on Thai society. It is a pity that he could not further substantiate his fascinating "Protestant ethic" finding (a result of his very localized field research, 1967) about a possible relationship between the ethics of the modern emerging middle class elites and the influence of the more demanding Buddhism of the Thammayut monks (p. 62). Also his final conclusion that "the Buddhist monk is most relevant to Thai society when he lives a more orthodox monastic life, a life that does not intrude too deeply into the everyday cares of secular society" (p. 63) needs to be substantiated against the growing political and secular involvement of monks in modern life that is the subject of the following chapters by F. Reynolds, Tambiah, and Keyes.

In "Kingship and national development", Reynolds harks back to the great reformist kings of the nineteenth century, yet rightly establishes the role of King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) as the father of modern Thai nationalism. This nationalism leads him to introduce his concept of "civic religion" in characterizing the veneration of the three core institutions of Thailand, namely nation, religion, and monarchy—after 1932 to be joined by a fourth, that is constitution.

It is the popularity of this cluster of "civic-religious" symbols that augurs Thailand's "modernity", Sangha and king not being monopolists of mutual legitimation any longer, but at par with Thai nation and constitution as the other legitimizers of power. I doubt, however, his references to cosmology, or the Buddhist religious understanding of the king's sacredness as vital aspects of religion at the village level (p. 105). Not doubting this sacredness (*khwaam-pensaksit*) that villagers attribute to power and kingship, I have my doubts about its Buddhist interpretation. Buddhism and its ideology of merit are of course related, but whether merit still relates to the exercise of actual power in the eyes of villagers is a thing that I have strongly become to doubt in the course of my field research: bureaucracy, guns, and superior market positions have little to do with merit in a religious sense and far more with a possible animistic legitimation of power, such as already hinted at by Sarkisyanz.

Tambiah's "Sangha and polity in modern Thailand: an overview" is in my opinion his best contribution to the subject to date. Having my apprehensions about his *World Conqueror and World Renouncer* (1976), which is recommended in the editor's preface, it was refreshing to note that it is possible to state a tedious argument of some 540 pages in clear language within the confines of a 23-page chapter. I fully agree with his observation that "Buddhism is as much the religion of the bourgeoisie as of the peasant, of the soldier as much as the recluse" and with his statement that, in the case of Thailand, "only a materially prosperous society can be ready for the pursuit of spiritual concerns" (p. 132). The question remains, however, what is meant by Buddhism or religion in Thailand where the label Buddhism comprises a wide variety of things (Tambiah 1970), and where "spiritual concerns" rather appear to be conditioned by an animistic attitude of propitiating all kinds of powers for the sake of auspiciousness than by any deep-seated concerns for spirituality (Mulder 1979; Terwiel 1975).

Religion as an integrative mechanism is more aptly characterized by Reynolds as civic religion, or a trust in national symbols that are free to anyone to manipulate, the symbolism involved being referred to in a short article in the final section. Contemporary Thai seek for identity more than for religious treasure, its symbols legitimizing continuity as much as protest, rightist politics as much as the quest for justice, which is illustrated by Keyes's chapter on Kittivuddho Bhikkhu and its reference to the ordination of former Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn. Keyes's chapter brings the book up to date: official Buddhism as an instrument of the powers that rule, yet gradually losing its integrative force because of the politicization of conflicts. With the Sangha not being a monolithic institution, the use of Buddhist symbols becomes the privilege of anyone wanting to pursue his own purposes, while legitimation becoming increasingly grounded in animistic directness (power legitimizing itself because it is powerful).

In the elaboration of argument the book is of good historical interest in its gradual development from kingship and religion to kingship, religion, the nation's people and legality as the shifting foci of legitimation. Because of its historical sequence it is a severe shortcoming that there is no chapter on the 400 years of the Ayutthayan period, while it is a pity that no material is presented about peasant protests against power in the name of millinarian Buddhism, such as in the *phuu-mii-bun* (ผู้มีบุญ) movements in the northeast (e.g. Keyes 1973). The book has a one-sided focus on the legitimation of the power that rules and is insufficiently concerned

with the uses of Buddhism by those who protest beyond the capital, the use of Buddhist symbols by protesting students being referred to, but not the equally relevant misgivings of the populace residing in the countryside that nevertheless sails under the same Buddhist flag, whatever their animistic understanding of religion. The absence of any consideration for popular understanding of legitimation (*phrakhun*, *phradeed*, or orientations to whatever is *saksit*) is therefore a serious defect. Eclectic references to Theravada Buddhism are of course very interesting and reveal a lot of social scientific ingenuity but fail to present a social reality that is anthropologically viable. The editorial work invested has been weak, there being no consistency in spelling names or words, which must be extremely misleading to uninitiated readers; sometimes romanizations do not make any sense at all, such as *ratatamanun* for วัชรธรรมนุญ and *mahakesat* for พระมหากษัตริย์.

Niels Mulder

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Amsterdam*

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The Provincial Administration of Siam, 1892-1915: the Ministry of the Interior under Prince Damrong Rajanubhab

by *Tej Bunnag*

Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1977; 322 pp.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Siam's territorial integrity and independence were gravely threatened by her European colonial neighbours, France and Great Britain. King Chulalongkorn clearly recognized that although conciliatory diplomacy might help to preserve the Kingdom temporarily, Siam's ultimate preservation depended upon reforming the internal administration of the Kingdom, both to eliminate pretexts for foreign intervention in Siam's internal affairs and to strengthen the Thai government *vis-à-vis* the colonial powers by increasing its control over its own territory, particularly over the collection of revenue. For the monumental task of reforming Siam's traditional provincial administration, King Chulalongkorn chose his younger brother Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, who became the first Minister of the modern Ministry of the Interior.

The book under review is an account of the Ministry of the Interior during Prince Damrong's tenure: its creation, expansion, problems and achievements. As the book's author points out, those achievements fell short of the Thai government's stated aims, but he reminds us that they should be viewed in the context of the times, against a background of active or passive resistance by vested interests threatened by the reforms, by a chronic shortage of money to finance the reforms, and by a shortage of qualified civil servants. In that context those achievements were quite significant. The provincial administration of Siam in 1915 was vastly different from that of 1890. The old personalistic style of provincial government, in which powerful provincial noble families ruling over a semi-vassal population were able to control the entire economic life of their provinces, remitting only such revenue to the Crown as they saw fit, had been replaced by a government of salaried civil servants paid by the Ministry and responsible to the Ministry governing a free peasant population.

The book is clearly written and meticulously researched, with heavy use of Thai archival materials. Not only is it a valuable contribution to our understanding of this critical period in Thai history, but it is a useful introduction to the study of modern Thai provincial administration. Finally, its excellent introductory chapter describing Siam's traditional provincial administration and its retrospective reflections throughout on that administration are valuable to the student of earlier Thai history. The bibliography contains a valuable aid to research in a presentation of the new classification system of the Thailand National Archives for the papers of the Ministry of the Interior.

Lorraine Gesick

Elizabeth, Colorado

COMMUNICATION

A TRIBUTE TO REGINALD LE MAY

Reginald le May is surely a name familiar to most members of the Siam Society. It seems that hardly a book or article on Siam — the country, its culture, art, coinage or stamps — fails to refer to some work of le May. For my part, after reading a number of his books and articles, I became determined to meet this scholar and old resident of Siam, who had once occupied the very house in Chiang Mai that I lived in myself for many years. In 1971 le May kindly agreed to meet me in Tunbridge Wells while I was on a visit to England. At the time of his death, a few months thereafter, he was an Honorary Member of the Siam Society, but an obituary was never published in *JSS*. The following notes, which are based on my one meeting and a perusal of 10 volumes of his books lodged in the India Office Library in London, are a tribute to Reginald le May, who did much for the Society and for Siam where he lived and worked for 26 years.

Reginald Stuart le May was born on 6 January 1885 in Kent, England, one of a large family. He was known as Rex. He went to Framlingham College from 1898 to 1902, and there won the Modern Languages Prize and excelled at games. Afterwards he was at King's College, London, and on obtaining his degree he worked first as confidential clerk to the British Consul-General in Zürich and later as an assistant master at his old school. In September 1906, le May came eleventh in the examination for student interpretership in His Britannic Majesty's Far East Consular Service (serving China, Japan and Siam). He joined the British Legation in Bangkok in February 1908.

Le May arrived in Chiang Mai in March 1913 (by train to Den Chai, and from there on foot), where he was Vice-Consul until November when he was transferred to a similar post in Lampang. Reginald le May straightaway started on a tour of the north, having as transport the five elephants normally kept at the Consulate in Chiang Mai. An account of his entourage makes interesting reading today. It totalled 17 persons: two clerks (one Siamese, one Burmese), one headman (in charge of the elephants, but also acting as barber and cook), four mahouts (one per elephant), one head syce (in charge of the mules), two syces (for the mules), two carriers, two messengers, one cook and two 'boys'. Le May gives a detailed description of the route he took in *An Asian Arcady*. Starting from Chiang Mai he visited Lampang, Phrae, Nan and eventually returned to his post in Lampang after a journey of five months and 700 miles.

In 1915 le May went on sick leave to England, where the following year he married Dorothy Madeline Castle. (They had one daughter, Audrey. She eventually married Captain John Fanshawe of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.) Le May was back in Bangkok later in 1916 as Vice-Consul. In 1920 he was sent to Saigon as Acting Consul-General.

Le May resigned from the Far East Consular Service in 1922. He gave as his reason that there were three younger but more senior persons in a service which did not have many officers, and he thought that there was little chance for promotion. He entered the service of the Royal Siamese Government, which seemed to him to give better prospects for more constructive work. He became Adviser to the Minister of Commerce and Communications, an assignment which included responsibility for the spread of rural credit societies throughout the country. He and his staff also edited *The Record*, the official journal of the Board of Commercial Development.

In 1929 le May was consulted regarding proposed plans for celebrating the 150th anniversary of the founding of Bangkok, notably the plan for construction of the present-day Rajadamnern Avenue. He suggested that a road bridge built over the Chao Phraya River might be even more of a national attraction. This suggestion was adopted by HM King Pradjadhipok and by le May's own Minister, HH Prince Purachatra. It should be remembered that at that time there was not a single road bridge over any major river in Siam except the River Ping at Chiang Mai. A contract was let to Dorman Long and Co., and the Memorial Bridge was completed and opened on time in 1932, an achievement with which Reginald le May was always proud to be associated.

Reginald le May joined the Siam Society in 1923. He took a lively interest in Society affairs, and contributed to *JSS*. He served on the Council of the Siam Society as Honorary Secretary, during 1926 and 1927, and thereafter as Vice-President. It was during his Vice-Presidency that le May claims to have initiated the fund for the construction of the Society's premises on Soi Asoke. Altogether 30,000 ticals was collected, which was enough to achieve the objective. Le May persuaded an old Indian friend, Mr A. E. Nana, to donate three acres of land for the site, and invited Mr Healey, a British resident, to give his architectural services free of charge. At my meeting with le May in 1971, he recalled with satisfaction the finding of a permanent home for the Society which meant so much to him. Le May received a rare honour in being elected an Honorary Member of the Society, in February 1938.

On le May's retirement a luncheon was given in his honour by the Siam Society at the Trocadero Hotel, which was reported in the *Bangkok Times* edition of 28 November 1932. He went up to Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he obtained his PhD in 1937 at the age of 52. He lectured at meetings of learned societies, interpreting East to West. His last lecture, entitled "The glories of Angkor", was held at Burlington House under the chairmanship of Lord Butler (at present Master of Trinity College, Cambridge), and was given a grand ovation by all the notables attending.

When Siam declared war on the United Kingdom in 1941 all Siamese Government pensions stopped, and it was not until July 1943 that the British Government decided to pay to pensioners advances which would be recovered after the war. Le May commented laconically: "This

was the first concrete intimation that I received that we were going to win the war. I felt sure the British Government would never make advances unless they were pretty sure they would get them back." Pensions resumed in October 1946, and all arrears were paid in April 1947.

Le May was an eccentric gentleman with a puckish sense of humour. He was an extensive traveller— in Switzerland, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, China, Japan, the USA and Canada, besides a dozen more countries in south and southeast Asia. He passed examinations in six languages. His French was so fluent that a Frenchman once asked him how it was he came to speak English so well! His religion, le May records, was "first Christian, second Buddhist, third Muslim — in my own way, I find each gives me something that I need."

When W.S. Maugham visited Bangkok in 1925, the le Mays invited him to dinner, but the author wrote declining as he was "about to go up-country". Le May commented: "I must admit that I do not take kindly to Somerset Maugham. He has great literary talent, but he seems to go out of his way to ferret out unsavoury subjects and roll them round his tongue." Rudyard Kipling once wrote to thank le May for informing him that a boulevard in Saigon had been named after him.

Le May was an acknowledged expert on the coinage and stamps of Siam, and wrote books on both subjects. He was a founding member of the Siam Philatelic Society (c. 1911-12), and his extensive collection was purchased for an exhibition that had to be cancelled because of the death of HM King Vajiravudh in 1925. It was placed in the National Library, but its present whereabouts are not known.

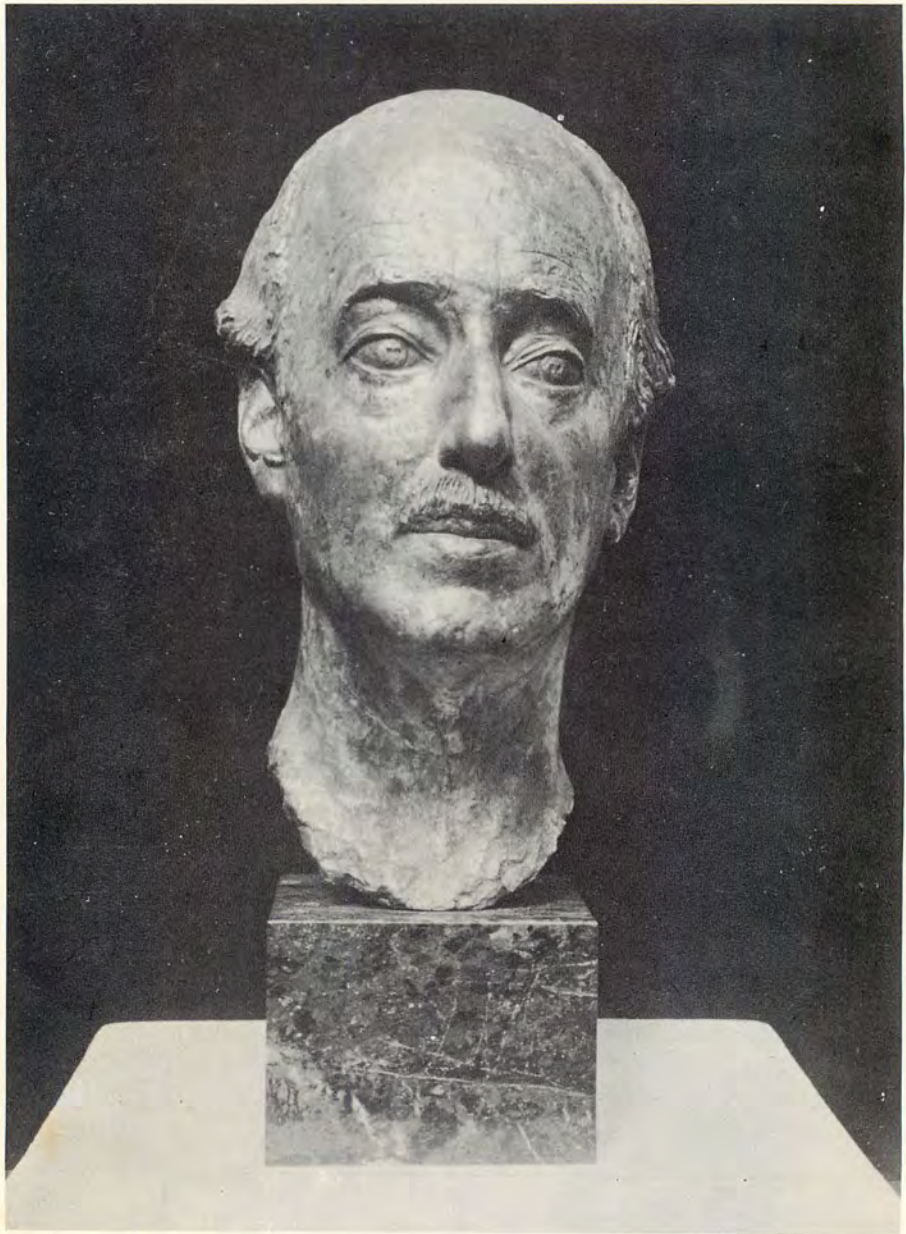
In 1951, when le May was 66 years old and Vice-President of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, he agreed to sit for the late Elsa Fraenkel, FRSA (Mrs E. Dane) for a sculpture which was finished in silvered bronze and later won the Silver Medal at the Paris Salon (see photo).

Le May joined the Royal Bangkok Sports Club in 1908, and was a member until 1934. He was a good cricketer, playing for RBSC in many matches between February 1908 and March 1932, often as captain, and usually making good scores. In his last season (at the age of 45) his highest score was 85 not out with an average of 30. In England he played for Kent 2nd XI and for the Granville Club, and once had the distinction of being caught out by W.G. Grace, the 'grand old man of cricket'. Le May was a talented football forward, and received frequent mention in the *Bangkok Times* in accounts of matches he took part in. His last game, when he was 35, was the final of a six-a-side tournament against the East Asiatic Co., Ltd. which his side won. Le May learnt to play golf at RBSC, and soon reduced his handicap to 10, winning the Bangkok Golf Championship in 1919. Altogether he played on 30 courses in 10 countries east of Suez. After his retirement, le May played competitive bridge and won the Kent pairs county championship in 1947 and 1950 with the late Lt-Col Stopford. Le May's other recreations were attending ballet performances and art exhibitions.

Reginald le May died on 22 January 1972. He was one of many who have lost their hearts to Thailand, more particularly to northern Thailand, which in his day was commonly called



Reginald le May (c. 1920) in the uniform of His Britannic Majesty's Far East Consular Service.



This bust of Reginald le May was sculpted and finished in silvered bronze by the late Elsa Fraenkel, FRSA (Mrs E. Dane) in the early 1950s, when le May was Vice-President of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, and is now in the collection of the artist's son, Frank W. Dane, by whose kind permission this illustration is reproduced.

western Laos or even just Laos. If there is any doubt on this score, it can be dispelled by reading from the last paragraph on the last page of *An Asian Arcady*.

... this country of the Lao, if not the Promised Land, is yet one which grows dearer to the heart, the more one knows it, and makes the stranger feel that, if he must be exiled from his native shores, he could not find a land of greater charm and sympathy in which to spend his days.

Roy Hudson

Chiang Mai

PUBLICATIONS BY R. S. LE MAY

<i>Descriptive Catalogue of the Postage Stamps and Post and Letter Cards of Siam Issued during the Years 1883 to 1919</i> (with W.J.F. Williamson and E. Wyon Smith; Siam Philatelic Society)	1920
<i>An Asian Arcady</i>	1926
<i>Siamese Tales, Old & New</i>	1930*
<i>The Economic Conditions of North-Eastern Siam</i>	1932
<i>The Coinage of Siam</i>	1932*
<i>The Ceramic Wares of North-Central Siam</i>	1933
<i>A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam</i>	1938*
<i>The Culture of South-East Asia</i> (special Indian edition with foreword by Pandit Nehru, 1962; German edition, 1968)	1954*
<i>The Culture of South-East Asia: the Heritage of India</i>	1954*
<i>Response to Beauty</i>	1954
<i>Records of the le May Family in England, 1630-1950</i>	1958

Contributions to periodical and other publications, including

Burlington Magazine, *Asian Review*, *Oriental Art*, *Chambers's New Encyclopaedia*, *Indian Art and Letters* [foregoing titles cited by *Who's Who 1972*, London, Adam and Charles Black] and the journals of the Siam Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society. — RH

* More than one edition.

ANNUAL REPORTS

THE HONORARY AUDITOR'S FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1979

We have examined the statements of assets and liabilities of the Siam Society (Under Royal Patronage) as at 31 December 1979 and 1978, and the related statements of revenues and expenses for the years then ended. Our examinations were made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

The accounts of the Society are maintained and the accompanying financial statements have been prepared on the cash basis, with adjustments to give effect to unsold publications, dues collected in advance and inclusion of provision for depreciation.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, on the basis indicated in the preceding paragraph, the assets and liabilities of the Siam Society (Under Royal Patronage) at 31 December 1979 and 1978 and its revenues and expenses for the years then ended, applied on a consistent basis.

YUKTA NA THALANG
C.P.A. (THAILAND)
Registration No. 1

28 February 1980

**THE FUND - RAISING AND PUBLICITY COMMITTEE ANNUAL REPORT
1979/80**

It has been felt for some time that some measures of improvement of the Lecture Hall and the Library ought to be brought about to provide a better environment for our activities and protect our buildings and books from rapid deterioration caused by air and noise pollution.

Evidently the need has become more pressing on account of the disturbance from the ever-growing traffic and noise on Asoke Road.

The Council last March decided to set up a committee to raise funds for such a purpose, and named it the 75th Anniversary Fund as the Society reached its 75th year of existence in 1979. The initial target was set at 2 million baht.

The 75th Anniversary Dinner and Dance on 21 July 1979 at the Oriental Hotel marked the formal opening of the campaign for fund-raising.

So far we have received a warm response from members, friends and business establishments both overseas and in Thailand, to whom we wish to record here our deep sense of gratitude. As of March 1980 the amount of donations to the Fund exceeds 1,100,000 baht. Though below target, the Committee felt they had reason for gratification in view of the economic difficulties prevailing in the country at the present time.

Out of the Fund raised, we have expended on basis of priority on the work of repair, renovation, and air-conditioning of the Lecture Hall. The expended amount is around 900,000 baht, and the remainder is allocated for the purchase of a microfilmer for the Library.

Although at the present moment the renovation work of the Lecture Hall is not quite complete, the air-conditioning system in the Hall has been in operation since the middle of February.

Indeed it is hoped that in the coming months the Society will be able to inaugurate its newly renovated and air-conditioned Lecture Hall in a formal manner with the 75th Anniversary publication containing a full list of donors to the Fund.

Committee members:

Mom Kobkaew Abhakara
HE Mr Frantz B. Howitz
Mr Vivadh na Pombejra
Ms Edwin F. Stanton
Ms Mareile Onodera

Chairman

THE SIAM SOCIETY

STATEMENTS OF REVENUES AND EXPENSES

For the Years Ended 31 December 1979 and 1978

	1979 <u>(Baht)</u>	1978 <u>(Baht)</u>
REVENUES		
Interest income	585,175.63	376,163.53
Members' dues and fees	355,599.46	347,286.29
Sales of publications	171,615.57	219,992.51
Others	331,256.53	176,342.94
Total revenues	<u>1,443,647.19</u>	<u>1,119,785.27</u>
EXPENSES		
Repairs and maintenance	418,949.28	133,168.81
Salaries and bonuses	321,715.00	222,950.00
Travel and transportation	230,761.00	126,271.25
Cost of publications	334,589.00	269,142.55
Stationery and printing	100,321.50	86,092.75
Dues and subscriptions	62,456.51	88,590.82
Depreciation	57,461.23	44,138.61
Postage, telephone and telegrams	47,258.25	69,731.00
Electricity and water	30,986.75	33,736.25
Representation and entertainment	18,424.00	7,287.25
Staff welfare	13,504.75	30,865.00
Insurance	8,396.75	7,447.85
Miscellaneous	93,357.75	57,305.40
Total expenses	<u>1,738,181.77</u>	<u>1,176,727.54</u>
EXCESS OF EXPENSES OVER REVENUES	<u>294,534.58</u>	<u>56,942.27</u>
		<i>(initialed)</i>

See accompanying Note to Financial Statements.

THE SIAM SOCIETY

STATEMENTS OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

As at 31 December 1979 and 1978

ASSETS	1979	1978
	(Baht)	(Baht)
CURRENT ASSETS		
Cash on hand and in banks	184,552.57	76,166.88
Temporary investments	4,698,199.20	4,894,199.20
Publications for sale	319,822.92	453,441.92
Other current asset	48,000.00	48,000.00
Total current assets	<u>5,250,574.69</u>	<u>5,471,808.00</u>
PROPERTY AND EQUIPMENT		
At cost or assigned value less accumulated depreciation		
Land	1.00	1.00
Buildings	3.00	3.00
Furniture, fixtures and office equipment	129,213.06	102,990.09
Transportation equipment	8,336.80	10,421.00
Total	<u>137,553.86</u>	<u>113,415.09</u>
TOTAL ASSETS	<u><u>5,388,128.55</u></u>	<u><u>5,585,223.09</u></u>

LIABILITY AND FUNDS	1979	1978
	(Baht)	(Baht)
CURRENT LIABILITY		
Dues collected in advance	47,553.11	42,855.01
FUNDS		
Endowment fund:		
Thai Government	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00
Members' contribution	323,395.57	323,395.57
Life membership fund	726,867.20	626,435.26
Carlsberg Foundation fund	60,205.25	60,205.25
Staff welfare fund	74,435.00	82,125.00
Edwin F. Stanton fund	22,608.47	22,608.47
	<u>3,207,511.49</u>	<u>3,114,769.55</u>
Accumulated excess of revenues over expenditures		
Balance, beginning of year	2,427,598.53	2,484,540.80
Excess of expenses over revenues for the year	294,534.58	56,942.27
	<u>2,133,063.95</u>	<u>2,427,598.53</u>
Balance, end of year	2,133,063.95	2,427,598.53
Total funds	<u>5,340,575.44</u>	<u>5,542,368.08</u>
TOTAL LIABILITY AND FUNDS	<u><u>5,388,128.55</u></u>	<u><u>5,585,223.09</u></u>

(signed)

See accompanying Note to Financial Statements.

NOTE TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

31 December 1979 and 1978

Property and equipment

The Society has adopted the practice of recording donated properties at nominal values. Because of the nature of the Society's activities, it has not put emphasis on establishing the current values of these properties. In the past, the Society had obtained a valuation for its land which was quoted at 7.2 million baht.

Furniture, fixtures and office equipment are being depreciated by the declining balance method; whereby the depreciation rate of 10 per cent is being applied on the net book value at the beginning of each year, while the transportation equipment is depreciated by the straight-line method of five years. Depreciation expense amounted to 57,461 baht in 1979 and 44,138 baht in 1978.

Land	7,200,000	7,200,000
Buildings	1,500,000	1,500,000
Furniture, fixtures and office equipment	1,000,000	1,000,000
Transportation equipment	500,000	500,000
Accumulated depreciation	(1,000,000)	(1,000,000)
Total	9,200,000	9,200,000

THE ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE ANNUAL REPORT 1979/80

Much was accomplished during the Council Year 1979/80.

Repairs

1. Both the Library and the Lecture Hall received major repairs. An air-conditioning system was installed in the Lecture Hall.
2. A new table for Council meetings was acquired to match the old one. Also ten old teak chair were repaired.
3. Bookshelves in the Library were given a new coat of varnish.
4. The two air-conditioners, one in the Business Office and the other in the Prince Wan Room, were repaired.

New equipment and facilities

1. An almost brand-new electric typewriter was purchased for the Business Office.
2. A new 'rest corner' was built for the watchmen behind the shed at the back of the Society.
3. Two new noticeboards were made, one for standing in the Library and the other on the wall of the Society, Soi Asoke side.
4. A new addressograph machine was acquired for office use.

Staff

1. Ms Kanchana Sophonpanich was employed as Executive Officer on 1 March 1979. She resigned on 31 October 1979.
2. Mr Tongchai Jedsachivin, Assistant Librarian, left in August 1979 after four years working for the Society, to further his studies. He was replaced by Mr Somchai Boonchom.
3. Ms Chamrieng Chomtavorn, Librarian, left in January 1980 after 14 years working for the Society. She was replaced by Ms Sunee Grima.
4. An additional officeboy was hired to help the Messenger cope with increasing office work.

Kamthieng House

1. Leaks in the roof were fixed.
2. About 25,000 pieces of old tile from Chiang Mai were collected and sent to the Society for the Kamthieng House by Mr Kraisi Nimmanhaeminda.
3. Mr Masahide Shibusawa of the East-West Seminar kindly agreed to make an annual contribution to the Society of up to US\$ 3,000, beginning with the 1979 fiscal year, as a special fund for the Kamthieng House.

Membership

The total number of members of the Siam Society, as appearing on the list at the end of October 1979, was 918. Of this number, 312 were Life Members, 246 Regular Members, 221 Ordinary Members, 122 Overseas Members, and 17 were Student Members.

Donations

A member of the Siam Society who wished to remain anonymous donated several valuable art objects to the Siam Society to be kept or sold at the discretion of the Council. Proceeds from sales, however, should go towards the 75th Anniversary Fund-raising Drive.

A film on the history and activities of the Siam Society was made to commemorate the 75th Anniversary.

Rental of the Lecture Hall and the Grounds

The hall and grounds were rented for a music performance, art exhibition, cocktail parties and dinner parties.

Committee members:

Ms Nisa Sheanakul

Mr Francis Martin

Mr Vivadh na Pombejra

Ms Katherine Buri

Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay

Ms Kanchana Sophonpanich

Chairman

THE ARTS & CULTURE COMMITTEE ANNUAL REPORT 1979/80

Film on the cremation ceremonies of an abbot

The cremation recorded on this film was exceptionally interesting in that it was of the Venerable Phra Dhammacetiya, Abbot of Wat Tong Noppakhun in Thon Buri and Ecclesiastical Governor of the Fourth Region, who had been one of the most celebrated Pali scholars in the land. Upon the Abbot's death His Majesty the King was graciously pleased to raise the status of the urn from that of an ordinary one which would have been used for a monk of his rank to an octonarian one which would only normally be used for a monk of the highest Phra Raja Cana rank. His Majesty sponsored a Royal Cremation at Wat Thepsirindr and HRH the Crown Prince graciously lit the pyre on His Majesty's behalf on Monday, 9 May 1979.

A total of 5,000 baht was allocated from the Ford Foundation grant to the Society, to cover the cost of film and rental of equipment.

Thai dance and music in Java and Bali

A group of 15 musicians and dancers, members of the student body and faculty of Srinakharinwirot University at Prasarnmit, was accompanied to Indonesia by Mr Dacre Raikes where for three weeks they gave performances of classical and folk dance and music for audiences in Jakarta, Bandung, Surakarta and Bali. The major portion of the airfares had been provided by Siam Motors Co., Ltd., and Thai Airways International, while operating funds and travel expenses were provided from funds made available by the Arts and Culture Committee of the Society as well as by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in Indonesia. The Foundation and the Arts Centre of Jakarta arranged the itinerary and provided board and lodging while in Java. Audiences were large and receptive. The only disappointment occurred in Denpasar when a short-lived, but heavy, shower of rain decimated the audience in the open air arena about two thirds of the way through the programme.

A full report is available on this tour for which 10,000 baht was allocated from the Ford Foundation grant to the Society.

"The Heritage of Thailand's Mural Paintings" — Photo exhibition and lecture series

A photographic exhibition by the Committee for the Survival of Thai Murals (CSTM), under the chairmanship of Ms Mareile Onodera, was organized in March 1979, entitled "The Heritage of Thailand's Mural Paintings", which was graciously opened at the Society's home on Soi Asoke by HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn. The very considerable and positive publicity attending this exhibition, and those held subsequently at Silapakorn University, Khon Kaen University and Buriram Teachers Training College, have done much to awaken an awareness in Thai society of the irreplaceable value of the fast-vanishing murals in the country. There is hope that this new-found awareness will be translated into action by all concerned government departments who will receive all possible encouragement from both CSTM and

from the Society. There is also an expectation that further exhibitions planned in Japan, America and Europe will engender additional funds and expertise to aid the authorities in their attempts to preserve as much as possible of this priceless heritage.

A full report on activities in 1979 and plans for 1980 is available from CSTM. A grant of 15,000 baht was made towards this first exhibition from the Ford Foundation funds. The lecture programme, concurrent with the exhibition, is listed below.

"Introduction to Thai mural paintings", by Sonia Krug (in English)

"Thoughts on Thailand's traditional mural paintings", by Sone Simatrang (in Thai)

"Jataka texts as visualized material", by Waldemar Sailer (in English)

"*Montha long kratom*", by the Thai Classical Music Group of Srinakharin Wirot University, Prasarnmit (*lakhon nawk*, music and theatre)

"The paintings in the Buddhaisawan Chapel at the Bangkok National Museum", by Yoshie Ogata (in Japanese)

"Explaining abstract language in Thai paintings", by Sumet Jumsai (in English)

"Architecture and murals in Wat Pra That Lampang Luang", by Anuvit Charernsupkul (in Thai)

"Conservation of Thai paintings", by Wannipa na Songkhla (in Thai)

Book published by the Historical Association of Thailand

The Historical Association of Thailand held a seminar on the study of history. A book was subsequently published covering the lectures and subjects brought up at the meetings.

An initial grant of 10,000 baht was made to assist with publication of the book, this was subsequently increased by another 10,000 baht to cover the costs of teacher training programmes planned as a result of deliberations reached at the seminar.

Promotion of articles on art and culture in Guru Parital

The *Guru Parital* monthly journal, which is produced by the Department of Teacher Training and is read by almost all teachers in the land, has been encouraged to publish special articles with accompanying photographs on art and culturally related subjects.

A grant of 20,000 baht from Ford Foundation money was made to back up a similar grant made by the trustees of the Jim Thompson Foundation.

Northeastern dance and music at the Hong Kong Asian Arts Festival

The Dance and Music Group of Srinakharin Wirot University at Maha Sarakam were recommended to the organizers of the Asian Arts Festival in Hong Kong, and subsequently received an invitation to send 25 members to give four performances in October under the leadership of their Vice President, Dr Chatri Muangnapee. The group have since passed through Bangkok enroute to an arts festival in Songkhla, during which they made a stopover in the capital to give a performance at the Siam Society.

The critic on the *Hong Kong Standard* had this to say on 27th October:

"... the evening was one of remarkable variety. The players and dancers are a young, exuberant lot, who bring an infectious verve to all that they do.

"Of choreography in the folk-dance numbers there is a happy minimum; only enough contrast of line and angle to avoid monotony.

"This was an evening to lighten hearts. The Phu Thai Dance just before the interval was especially charming, demonstrating all of the dancers' grace and agility in a playful, teasing episode involving four couples.

"The concluding number, a recent creation commemorating the recent discoveries at Ban Chiang, was potted indeed. But this one synthetic moment did not dim the lustre of an otherwise joyous unpretentious, often hypnotic evening of music".

A grant of 7,500 baht was given to the Maha Sarakam group to assist with acquisition of costumes and lodging while the parent campus group at Prasarnmit received 2,500 baht to provide meals and assistance during the stopover in Bangkok.

Improved distribution for Chao Baan Monthly

Chao Baan Monthly, which is published by the Komol Keemthong Foundation is aimed at the newly literate and those villagers who are in danger of becoming the newly illiterate once again. The aims are to encourage the practice of reading in remote village areas by discussing such subjects as simple law, co-operative ventures, local culture and education, farming problems, etc. in colloquial style. The villagers are generally too poor to subscribe by themselves and so a system is operated whereby more wealthy members of society are encouraged to take out subscriptions on their behalf at 35 baht each copy per year. Since most advertising is not considered suitable for such a publication, production costs are naturally high with nothing to offset them.

A grant of 20,000 baht was made to assist the Komol Keemthong Foundation in their production and distribution of *Chao Baan Monthly*.

Display panels for art exhibitions at the Society

Exhibition frames for the Society have been ordered so that it will be possible to mount future art exhibitions without having to borrow, or rent, such display panels from elsewhere in future. These are being designed by Ms Mareile Onodera in the light of her experience with mounting the recent CSTM exhibitions in various places.

A budget of 40,000 baht has been allocated from the Ford grant for these panels.

A film on the musicians' "Wai Khru" ceremony

The last *wai khru* of *Acharn* Chin Silapabanleng, a daughter of the late Luang Pradit Pairoh, at Srinakharin Wirot University (Prasarnmit) was recorded on 'Super-8' cinefilm in colour with sound. The highlights of the ceremonial surrounding a musicians' *wai khru* ceremony were recorded throughout the course of the morning including the invocations to the gods of music, the offering of food and the final blessing of the students by *Acharn* Chin herself.

A grant of 2,500 baht was made to purchase and process 10 reels of film.

PERFORMANCES

Northern dance and music at the Society

In late April the dance and music clubs of Chiang Mai University visited Bangkok, accompanied by a group of guest performers to give programmes of northern dance and music for the Fine Arts Dept. and for television. The Society was able to sponsor a programme at rather short notice.

Nang yai at the Society

Almost exactly one month later the recently rejuvenated group of *nang yai* performers from Wat Sangarom at Sing Buri put on a programme with their giant shadow-play figures at the Society.

Thai music workshops and concerts in England

For three weeks in October and November a visit was undertaken to England by six members of the Thai Classical Music Group of Srinakharin Wirot University at Prasarnmit to conduct music workshops and give private and public concerts. In this case the Society raised 150,000 baht to help cover the airfares and expenses of the tour which was undertaken at the invitation of Dr Donald Mitchell, Head of Music Studies at the Britten-Pears School for Advanced Musical Studies at Aldeburgh. Workshops were conducted at Aldeburgh under the sponsorship of the Aldeburgh Festival-Snape Maltings Foundation and also at the Universities of York, Sussex and Southampton and at the Colchester Polytechnic Institute. Programmes were played for various schools as well as at Causis College, Cambridge, and for the Royal College of Music and for the Guildhall School of Music in London. Two recorded programmes were also made for the BBC sound service and assistance with the soundtrack of the film made by the BBC-TV service about the daily life, and ceremonial, surrounding His Majesty the King entitled "The Soul of the Nation" was also rendered.

This tour, the second serious music workshop tour within two years, has created considerable interest in Thai music in England and another repeat performance is likely in 1981 if funds can once again be raised. There is even talk of an unprecedented appearance on one of the celebrated Promenade Concert programmes ('The Proms') sponsored by the BBC. A full report on this second workshop tour is annexed to this Committee Annual Report.

Mak reuk khon — 'Human chess'

The most unusual and colourful spectacle of a game of Thai chess played with human chessmen was presented on the Society's Kamthieng House lawn, with the assistance of *Acharn* Tasanee Amsamang (co-ordinator) and Ms Jirapha Jiranupharb (group leader) of Srinakharin Wirot University (Bang Khen) on 20 March 1980. The 32 chessmen (and women), dressed in period costumes of Thai and Burmese forces of 200 years ago, were accompanied by standard-bearers and two musical ensembles, one to play for each side when they made their moves upon the big board. Two real chess players and operators for the large monitor board completed

the teams. After the traditional parade of the chessmen behind their standard bearers, a lively game was called out, move by move, by Ms Jirapha. In order to keep the audience interested, the players were put under great pressure to make a move at least every minute, which added to the excitement during the hour that it took to finish with the check-mate of the Burmese King.

A grant of 4,000 baht was made from the Arts and Culture Committee's Ford Foundation budget to assist with the costs of hiring costumes and providing supper for the performers for two nights.

Playing the game. The game of *mak reuk khon* requires a fairly large place upon which to play as all the pieces are represented by people who, dressed for the part, move across the human sized board in accordance with the moves made by two real chess players who play their game nearby. The moves are put up on a monitor board, so that all present can see what move has been made, and the move is also relayed to the players on the floor and to their supporting musicians. When a piece makes an ordinary move the musicians will strike up a melody relevant to that piece who will then proceed straight to the square designated. If it should happen that one piece is being taken by another, the melody of the winning piece will be played while he advances upon his prey, and a *pleng cherd* or *pleng rew mon* will accompany the actual fight before the losing piece feigns death to a *pleng oat* and then removes himself from the board to sit behind the victor's baseline.

The opposing sides usually represent Thai and Burmese armies, so Thai music is used for Thai movements, while Mon and Burmese music is played for the Burmese pieces. As in the *khon* (masked dance) certain characters should move to particular pieces of music e.g. the Thai *mah* (knight) will move to "*asawa leela*" while a Burmese *mah* might well move to the Mon melody "*ta tai ten*". *Pleng lor* is used for both a Thai *rua* (castle) and for the Burmese, whilst a Thai victory is celebrated with a *pleng chert* and a *pleng req mon* such as "*Yok talom mon*" is played for the Burmese. Prior to the game the flag bearers of each team lead their sides out to "*krao nawk*" or a *pleng rew burma* as the case may be.

Thai chess is *sanook*, and not played in deathly silence as is international chess. It is quite in order to shout in support of your chosen player or team and treat the whole operation much more like a cockfight than something between Korchnoi and Spassky or Fischer on the international circuit!

Committee members:

HSH Prince Subhadradis Diskul
Mr Sulak Sivaraksa
Mr Dacre Raikes
Ms Mareile Onodera
Ms Nisa Sheanakul
Ms Katherine Buri
Dr Piriya Krairiksh

Chairman
Vice-Chairman
Vice-Chairman

ANNEXES

THAI CLASSICAL MUSIC WORKSHOPS AND PERFORMANCES
IN ENGLAND, OCTOBER–NOVEMBER 1979**A report on the second workshop/visit to Aldeburgh by the
Thai Classical Music Group at Srinakharin Wirot University at Prasarnmit
under the auspices of the Britten-Pears School for Advanced Musical Studies,
the Aldeburgh/Snape-Malting Foundation and the Siam Society**

Such was the success of the first workshop visit to England under the auspices of the Aldeburgh/Snape-Maltings Foundation by eight musicians and two dancers in the autumn of 1977 that an invitation to make a second visit was issued just two years later. However, since the music-workshop element in the programme was to be emphasized, as well as for the more obvious economy reasons, it was decided to cut out the dancers and to reduce the musicians to six on this occasion.

Although the invitation to the Srinakharin Wirot University group at Prasarnmit was officially issued the previous February (and discussions and preliminary planning had been going on for some months prior to that date) the writer felt that fundraising for the event should be deferred until a bit nearer to the time of departure, after the completion of the planned three-week dance and music tour of Java and Bali which was scheduled for May and would involve 15 members of the group. What was not anticipated in February was that the Council of the Siam Society itself would also be smitten by their own fundraising urge in the middle of the year, for updating and airconditioning the auditorium, and that two-million baht drive would be in full swing when the much smaller musical appeal went out in July, inevitably to many of the same donors! In the event previous supporters rallied generously once more and the necessary 150,000 baht to cover airfares, music books, teaching instruments, a full *angkaloong* set, films, programmes and incidental expenses was covered at the eleventh hour—or perhaps a little later.

Quite apart from the fundraising complications, frenzied preparations were meanwhile taking place in the auditorium at Prasarnmit to construct transportable, lightweight zinc packing cases, and to make metal frames to replace traditional *ranad* bodies for the teaching instruments and thus save on both weight and space. A final fair copy of the programme was typed and sent for offset printing only five days before departure; even then it was still printed too soon to incorporate further changes in the timetable dictated by last-minute alterations. These alterations were largely courtesy of Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher whose government had suddenly withdrawn travelling, board and lodging budgets from educational establishments as a part of her economy drive and thus rendered all plans for the first part of the Aldeburgh residential workshop largely useless. However, at least the programmes were printed in time

to be packed and accompany the group to the airport and did not have to be despatched by special courier, still almost steaming, from the premises of the printer as was the case on the previous visit to England.

The selected six musicians and the writer, who served as stagehand, part-time lecturer, itinerant photographer and mascot were deposited safely at London's Heathrow Airport by Thai Airways International on Saturday, 20th October around 8 a.m., in the midst of an unheralded go-slow by Her Britannic Majesty's customs officers. The queue through the red (items to declare) customs channel, even at that early hour, was about 50 long and six deep. Morale sank as the minutes, then hours, ticked by in the almost immobile queue, but after about three hours of easing and edging our unwieldy packing cases forward in the crush, the moment finally arrived when the group were able to advance upon the most senior and humane-looking of the duty officers. The man must have had a soft spot for musicians, for permission was given to proceed untouched to the welcome awaiting beyond the barriers from Aldeburgh's John Evans and the group's own advance guard, Somsak Ketukaenchan, who had just taken up a year's special woodwind study course at the Guildhall School of Music.

Since the first part of the Aldeburgh workshop was cancelled, new arrangements were made to keep the group in London for discussions on the Sunday with BBC producer Miss Bridget Winter concerning some help she required with a TV film which she had made over a period of time earlier in the year in Thailand, of His Majesty's work among the people, with particular reference to the upcountry agricultural projects. Background music was required for certain parts which had been shot without sound. This film, to be called "The Soul of a Nation", was planned to be shown in two parts on BBC TV in the early part of 1980; the screening time was almost three hours and it had no less a personage than Sir John Gielgud as narrator. The film covered such varied subjects as His Majesty's opinion on the current political situation in Thailand along with a history of the Chakri Dynasty and the symbolism of the Monarchy and etiquette surrounding it. Royal ceremonial, including the naming of the Royal Grandchild, the Ploughing Ceremony and the bestowal upon Her Majesty the Queen of the FAO Ceres Medal, were also caught by the BBC cameras. Religious ceremonies were also included. But a major portion of the film was devoted to His Majesty's daily routine in upcountry areas as well as that of the Princess Mother and the Royal medical teams at work. Much footage was devoted to agriculture, both lowland projects among ethnic Thais and those devoted to the multifarious hilltribes and efforts to wean them away from their traditional slash-and-burn techniques, particularly poppy growing, onto other economic crops. The final reels contained sections in which the King talked directly to the camera on the dangers of communism and of His own Buddhist beliefs leading to His possible questioning of certain values and attitudes prevalent in much of the Western world today.

Being forewarned, the group had brought along certain representative instruments from the various areas of the country such as the northeastern free-reed *khaen* and the *pin*, the local guitar. From the north came the bowed *salor* and the reedy *pi choom*. They were thus all ready to provide the necessary background sounds of most areas during the lengthy recording session that was set up for Monday afternoon and evening prior to the departure for Aldeburgh and the east later that night.

A brief historical fantasia at the commencement of the production included a short piece of old film from the reign of King Prajadhipok; for this a part of "*khmen sai yoke*" was chosen. Acharn Montri Tramote's "*mayura pirom*", often paired with the former, along with "*lao duang duen*", were selected to cover such scenes as floating markets and agriculture with Somsak's *khlui* much in evidence. The *piphat mai khaeng* ensemble playing "*phya duen*" and Jirapol's *saw duang* solo rendering of "*phya soke*" were felt to be a fitting accompaniment for a scene showing the royal elephants.

One piece of music selected to accompany the convoy of royal vehicles moving expeditiously from one project to the next was a section of "*saen kamneung chandio*"; this so much caught the imagination of both the film producers and the musicians that for the rest of the tour around England it was known simply as "Convoy" and was incorporated into the regular programmes for the public on many occasions. For another scene the male voice choir rallied to sing the words and chorus of "*pleng khiew khao*", a harvesting folksong, to add a suitably agricultural touch to His Majesty's Noopkapong co-operative settlement scenes, and a royal lunchtime walk was assisted by Jirapol playing a part of "*lao paen*" as a *chakay* solo with a well-timed *glissando* as Her Majesty is assisted in a short jump across an irrigation ditch. Somsak took care of a Hmong hilltribe village with "*fon ngiew*" played as a *pi nai* solo followed by "*nok kamin*" on the *khlui* for the more distant shots. A scene near the fadeout of lotus floating in a pond was accompanied by Charnchai's mellifluous singing, unaccompanied, of the northern melody "*lao duang dokmai*".

After many attempts to get the excerpts exactly according to Miss Winter's satisfaction, the marathon recording session eventually ended and the rather belated journey to Aldeburgh was undertaken in the happy knowledge that Mrs Marion Thorpe had once again made her beachside house "Curlews" available to the party. Being a smaller group all seven were able to be accommodated while Dr and Mrs Mitchell were farmed out to Sir Peter Pears. A real northeast gale was blowing on the coast and it was as much as anyone could do to carry the instruments up from the cars into the house, but once within all was snug and warm.

Since the British students were no longer able to attend the mid-week workshops at Snape the programme was rearranged to take at least a part of the workshops to them instead. Tuesday morning consequently saw the group on the road to Colchester where a midday concert and afternoon instruction sessions were planned in the Polytechnic Institute. Over the years that the group has been travelling some unusual performance sites have been provided, and some few years ago earlier members of the group attempted to put on a show among the Khmer ruins at Khao Phra Viharn, with the full cooperation of the Khmer military commander, only to be thwarted by waist-high floods which prevented arrival at the chosen site despite much prior preparation; however Colchester, living up to their own very best antiquarian traditions, laid on what at first looked like another of their celebrated Roman ruins; these, on closer investigation, turned out to be the third attempt in about five years to divert a persistent spring in the auditorium foundations! Perched upon the edge of this chasm, which occupied at least one half of the auditorium floor, and surrounded by bags of cement and bricks and with an appreciative audience of students supplemented by an equally attentive gang of water diviners, builders and bricklayers who gave up their lunch hour to attend, the show went on.

It opened with "*khmer sai yoke*" played in concerto form to better demonstrate the possibilities of each instrument. The "*saen kamneung*", the "Convoy" song, raised the tempo with a further series of fast solos after which the audience were allowed to relax with Jirapol playing "*lao daung dokmai*" as a *saw oo* solo and "*lao paen*" on the *chakay*. It then became the turn of the woodwind as Somsak took over to play "*saratee*" on the solo *pi nai* and "*soi santat*" on the *khluie*. The "*tao kin pakboong*" brought the programme to an end and allowed the constructors of third-millenia antiquities to resume their occupation.

Tuesday night became "Thai Night" at Curlews and all were very happy that Dr Mitchell was able to convince his host, Sir Peter Pears, that a Thai dinner would be good for him. The musicians dropped their hammers and bows and exchanged them for pots and pans in the kitchen; all the stops were pulled out and a fine meal was served with many of the essential ingredients which had been brought over especially for such a night away from home.

The group had their first view of the newly opened buildings of the Britten-Pears School for Advanced Music Studies at Snape Maltings on the Wednesday morning, when instruments were transported to the Holst Library in order to give a short recital at the request of Miss Imogen Holst in memory of her composer-father Gustav Holst. This short recital was much enjoyed by the very select audience invited by her to attend. The 45-minute programme opened with King Prajadhipok's "*kluen kratop fang*", most appropriate so near to the sea, after which the northern folksong "*lao duang dokmai*" was played as a solo by Jirapol on the *chakay* who was followed by Charnchai singing the same melody. Somsak gave "*saratee*" on the *pi nai* "*khmer sai yoke*", in a *krung sai* arrangement, completing this very special programme given in front of the opened door of the Holst Library.

BBC TV from Norwich occupied the afternoon making a film for use on their Eastern Service to publicize the upcoming end-of-course public concert on the coming Sunday. Dr Mitchell then swept the group off to Horam on the Norfolk border for supper to see the old farm cottage, owned previously by Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears, which he had recently bought from the Britten Estate and which was to become his East Anglian base from which to operate as Director of Musical Studies at the Britten-Pears School. His distinguished predecessors had added a commodious music room with large picture windows to one end of the cottage which was put to good use and from which in daylight the East Anglian countryside could be enjoyed right from the doorstep.

Thursday the 25th was reserved for Cambridge, but unfortunately it turned out to be wet and very cold which cut out the sightseeing but did provide an excellent excuse for shopping instead. One further blow was that Mr Richard Widdess had been unable to raise funds for his planned video-recorded workshop which was also consequently cancelled. The evening programme was to be given in the Chapel of Caius College under the auspices of *ML* Plaichumpol Kitiyakara and the Cambridge Siam Society. Prior to this event a rather damp group of musicians floundered through rain-soaked courtyards for the early, and extremely packed, first dinner in Hall as *Khun Plai*'s guests. This allowed plenty of time to set up the instruments in the little chapel afterwards and before the commencement of the concert which was attended by a small and damp, but musically educated, audience of about 40.

After the group had opened the concert with "*homrong kluen kratop fang*", Khun Plai joined them to play another of King Prajadhipok's compositions, "*khmer la or ong*", on his *saw oo*. Prince Naris' "*khmer sai yoke*", in concerto form, was sandwiched in between two solos by Jirapol on the *saw duang* and the *chakay* which led to Pradit's sparkling *ranad* concerto "*ah noo*". The concert was rounded off in the traditional manner with the *pleng la* "*tao kin pakboong*".

The resident course proper began on the Friday morning with registration of the students, of whom there were about 13 plus another 10 observers, and an introductory lecture by Dr Mitchell which was followed by the visiting musicians demonstrating their instruments in both solo and ensemble. The students were drawn from the Colchester Polytechnic Institute, Cambridge University and Dartington Hall and proved to be both enthusiastic and competent being, as some were, already postgraduates in musical subjects.

The afternoon period was taken up with a fairly full Children's Concert in the Recital Hall attended also by all those registered for the course. This was succeeded, after teabreak, by a lecture on notation and specific techniques at the end of which the students were encouraged to try out the instruments and make their choice of which one they would like to concentrate on for the major part of the weekend. The intention was to have a British student ensemble playing at least one piece at the public end-of-course concert if at all possible. Supper was served for all at the School canteen at 7 p.m. after which the teachers retired exhausted to "Curlews" and the writer took over and gave a slide lecture on "History and art of Thailand" until it was time for the students to retire to their chilly and very basic youth hostel at Blaxall nearby.

Different practice rooms were allocated to *pi*, *khluie*, *chakay*, the *sor*, *khong* and *ranad* on the Saturday morning and, apart for the coffee, lunch and teabreaks and a late afternoon practice run with the *angkaloong* for variation, most students had put in about six to seven hours concentrated practice on "*plae look khong*" when a halt was called at suppertime. By that time, even if the students could have taken more, the teachers certainly could not! The writer took over once more and gave another slide lecture on "Music and Dance of Thailand" to try and make up for Aldeburgh's inability to play the 16 mm magnetic sound film on Southeast Asian music and dance which had been kindly lent before departure from Bangkok by the Japan Foundation. Magnetic projectors are considered to be very old-fashioned in England and can only be lent by film clubs and university audio-visual departments if prior arrangements have been made in working hours—certainly not on a Saturday afternoon! But a slide lecture does have one advantage over a film, especially in a subject of this nature, in that the picture can be held while questions are asked.

The first half of Sunday morning was devoted to ensemble rehearsals of "*plae look khong*" for the public concert in the afternoon and when that was more or less perfect the students went over their rendering of "*homrong java*" on the *angkaloong* as Prateep had decided to include that in the concert as well to give some variety. Although a certain degree of competency was reached it fell a long way short of what a Thai student group could do insofar as noteholding is concerned. Perhaps the less supple wrist muscles of the average European have something to

do with it as well as shortage of practice time. Whatever the quality of the sound it nevertheless provided a dramatically different change of pace and scene for the well-sold afternoon concert.

Dr Mitchell organized a discussion with the students in the remaining hour before lunch from which it became quite clear that they had much enjoyed their weekend workshop and only regretted that it was so short. Those majoring in composition particularly stressed that their ears had been opened up to new, undreamt-of sounds which would surely find their way into future compositions.

The afternoon's audience of 120 were given a programme of many of the works chosen for the BBC recordings from the Thai musicians as well as the previously mentioned "*plae look khong*" and "*homrong java*" from the British students. They reacted most enthusiastically to all that was played and were reluctant to go at the end without two or three encores. As the crowd finally departed all from Thailand were very touched to receive an autographed copy each of a monograph that she had written about her father from Ms Imogen Holst. The British students also most kindly presented *Acharn Prateep* and the other members of the group with flowers as a token of appreciation and followed that up with an extemporized playing of "Auld Lang Syne". It provided a most fitting ending to the course and gave encouragement for the hectic two weeks yet to come. Meanwhile there were instruments to be packed and loaded for the return journey to London that night in order to be ready to commence the "London Week" on Monday morning.

The first engagement in the second week was a pre-luncheon concert in the Concert Hall of the Royal College of Music at the invitation of the Director, Sir David Willcocks. The combination of fuel economy and a Monday morning after a weekend closedown of the central heating system had everyone blowing on their fingers to try and keep them thawed out in the large and well-windowed hall. But the kindness and personal attention given to all by Sir David after the concert was finished soon thawed out any memories of chilled fingerjoints. As a special concession, after an excellent lunch, the group were given an out-of-hours conducted tour of the Royal College's Museum of Historical Instruments in which, among a very valuable and extensive collection of European instruments dating back about 500 years, they discovered a Burmese *ranad* as well as some others from India and China. It was later decided to present one *saw oo*, one *khaen* and two *khluie* to this museum as a memento of our visit. Sir David has since written to say that the Curator, Mrs Elizabeth Wells, was very pleased to add these instruments to the Oriental Section. A further invitation to play again at the College was also extended for a future visit.

The afternoon concert was given at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama at the invitation of the Principal, Mr John Hosier who, despite a pressing engagement at the Guildhall itself, insisted on staying to hear as many items as possible from the selected programme before handing over to Mr Leslie East. This concert was particularly important as it was at Guildhall School that Somsak was pursuing his year's course of studies through the kind assistance of Mr Hosier upon Dr Mitchell's recommendation. The music selected consisted of "*homrong mah ram*" followed immediately by Somsak's solo "*saratee*" on the *pi nai* after which the instruments were briefly introduced prior to "*saen kamneung*" (Convoy) by the ensemble and Jirapol's

solo "*lao paen*" which led into "*khmer sai yoke*" played in concerto form for *saw oo*, *ranad* and *khluie*. Manop's *khaen* demonstration preceded the final item which was the Chinese style "*ah noo*" by Pradit and the group. The programme had been chosen to emphasize woodwind for Somsak's benefit.

The major part of Tuesday, 30th October was free and the only programme booked was in the evening when the committee of the Anglo-Thai Society, under the Chairmanship of Sir Arthur de la Mare (an ex-ambassador to Thailand) had arranged a concert and reception at the Overseas League at which the group were most pleased to welcome HE Mr Paen Wannamaethi, the Thai Ambassador, and his wife MR Hiranyika. Spotted among the audience was Mr Alec Adams, longtime resident of Thailand and a past councillor at the British Embassy who though now retired from the Foreign Office still kept up his Thai contacts through his involvement with the BBC's Thai Service. Also present was Miss Harrison, "Auntie" to generations of Thai students through her longtime position in the Students Office, who was discussing the possibility of making a third visit to Thailand as the honoured guest of her old charges, many of whom now occupied prominent positions in government and business circles.

Wednesday morning saw the group heading off to north London to give a programme at the Woodberry Down Comprehensive School upon the invitation of the Headmaster, Mr John Marland. The luncheon served prior to the concert included wine and there were fears that the upcoming performance might be somewhat ragged as a result, but possibly aided by the fact that Thai musicians carry all their music in their heads and do not find it necessary to read off printed scores all was well; the programme before an audience of about 300 students went off without complications.

The following day, Thursday, 1st November, was reserved for the BBC where Mr Robert Layton, Producer of Music Talks, had reserved the big studio for two three-hour recording sessions the first of which commenced at 10 a.m. It also happened to be Manop's birthday which was the cause of a small celebration in the canteen during coffeebreak; a special cake was produced and the usual cutting chorus was prevented from being an all-male voice choir affair with the aid of the ladies of the canteen who threw themselves into the spirit of things with great gusto. The cake was quickly demolished before I returned to the studio to finalize the first programme which was planned to last for 30 minutes and was to be a performance by a *piphat mai khaeng* ensemble (hard sticks) playing "*homrong ma ram*" as an opener followed by Pradit and Somsak playing their variations of the lament "*phya soke*" on the *ranad ek* and *pi nai* respectively. This first programme was rounded off with the farewell song "*tao kin pakboong*".

After an afternoon's rest period the evening session began at 6 p.m. with music chosen to demonstrate the *piphat mai nooam* ensemble (soft sticks) and the *krueng sai* (strings). The melodies chosen were King Prajadhipok's "*khmer la or ong (tao)*" and Phra Pradit Pairoh's masterpiece "*cherd chine*", the instantaneous composition which won him his title in the reign of King Mongkut. Both of these were for the full ensemble while "*khaek mon*" was played as a *saw oo* solo by Jirapol and the melancholy beauty of "*nok kamin*" was played a *khluie* solo by Somsak. This second recording was scheduled to last 40 minutes. Both recordings

were expected to be transmitted in the first few months of 1980 and Mr Layton informed the group that the earlier recording made at the time of their October 1977 visit was due to be given a second airing in December at a rather more popular listening hour than a midweek afternoon.

Next morning saw the party having to overcome a rather reluctant guard on the 10 a.m. Intercity train from Euston Station to York in order to get both the musicians and the instruments travelling together on the same train. Persistence aided by much trundling of trolleys from one end of the train to the other, and then back again, finally prevailed and all were duly swept north to arrive on schedule at 1 p.m. to be greeted by ethnomusicologist Neil Sorrell who proved to be a well trained British Railways lift operator and expert van packer in addition to his other attainments. Instruments were in due course set up in the University auditorium and lunch was then served before the rapidly fading light of a northern winter's day prompted a hurried dash back into the city to get a glimpse of York Minster and the old town in what little light yet remained. However we were not quite fast enough as within minutes of our arrival the Roman ruins beneath the church closed for the night followed in quick succession by the Belltower and the Bookshop. As the Evensong procession wound their way from the Choir to the Vestry, determined vergers swept all before them to the exits and the great rose window never was seen.

York University turned out to be enthusiasts, or perhaps it was an infection spread by Neil Sorrell; they demanded a full programme complete with interval during which a first-class bar was operating. The programme opened with "*kkuen kratop fang*" after which the instruments were introduced individually before the group launched into "*khaek toi mor (tao)*". Jirapol then played his *saw duang* variation of "*krao nai*" before handing over to Somsak with his *khluie* version of "*nok kamin*". The first part of the programme ended with the painting, but since Charnchai was both our singer and artist the "*khmer sai yoke* suite was rearranged to incorporate solo passages for the *saw oo* and *khluie* and thus replace the singer.

The vigorous "*cherd chine*," with hard sticks, provided a rousing opening to the second half of the programme which was followed, as a complete contrast, by Jirapol giving a solo *chakay* rendering of "*lao paen*". The pace was quickened again by each member of the group taking it in turns to give a solo version of the fast *chandio* variation of "*saen kamneung*" ("Convoy") after which Manop brought a touch of Thailand's northeast to northeast England with a few bars on the *khaen* as a prelude to the *ranad* concerto "*ah noo*" played by Pradit. A most appropriate programme came to an end, apart for a short encore, with "*tao kin pakboong*".

By packing and loading the instruments in the van after the performance a quick start was made next morning which returned the group safely to London by midday to find a welcome lunch being prepared at the Mitchells flat. That same evening a programme was given for Samaggi Samakom at Princes Gate.

The University of Sussex, near Brighton, was next on the list and Sunday afternoon saw all heading south through magnificent late autumn colours to arrive in time to set up in the Gardner Centre for a 7.30 p.m. programme under the auspices of Professor Jonathan Harvey and the Department of Music. With the exception of "*cherd chine*," which was eliminated

in order to reduce the length of the programme to take care of late-night transport problems back into Brighton, the York formula was followed almost completely.

After a night as guests in private houses all met together again the following morning and, led by Dr Mitchell and Professor Harvey, conducted a series of lectures and workshops which proved to be most successful with many regretting the shortage of time available in which to really get to grips with the subject matter. An informal concert rounded off the afternoon before the move to Horsham Arts Centre in the evening at which the now traditional warm welcome was extended by Mr Alan Wilkinson, the Director, and his staff. Some of the masters teaching at Christ's Hospital had kindly undertaken to host members of their group for their three-night stay during which Horsham became the base for visits to the surrounding area, the first of which was planned to be made to Farlington School if it had not burnt down in the meantime. Workshops at Christ's Hospital were substituted instead in addition to the ones already scheduled for the evening.

Southampton University had booked a lunchtime concert and afternoon workshop on Wednesday 7th in their Turner Sims Concert Hall which gave the group a chance to see some more of Sussex and Hampshire—but the weather refused to co-operate and remained heavily overcast throughout the whole day when it was not actually raining, not exactly conducive to admiring beautiful countryside. However the precipitation did not deter the audience who enthusiastically received an even more truncated version of the York programme in the interests of squeezing it exactly into the lunch hour. The "*cherd chine*" was eliminated once more, the introduction to the instruments was reserved for the afternoon workshop and the tortoises never did get to eat their *pakboong* waterweed that afternoon as Pradit's scintillating "*ah noo*" brought the programme to a halt just within the one hour allocated by Professor Peter Evans. A late lunch was followed by two hours of cramped workshops upstairs as the organists laid claim to their instrument in the main auditorium. Then it was time to pack up and head off through the murky darkness for the two-hour drive back to Horsham. But Mr Wilkinson had meanwhile done his homework and found a most improbable and totally deserted Chinese restaurant in nearby Storrington which served a surfeit of good food and filled the void which had developed since departure from Southampton some hours before. This was topped off by a visit to a pub serving Britain's latest craze, "real ale".

Informal workshop sessions with different groups of boys from Christ's Hospital in the Art Centre's red and black Elizabethan Theatre occupied many hours of the morning and afternoon on Thursday and led up towards the after-supper concert for the public at 7.45 p.m. The overture chosen for this was "*homrong ayares*" and Somsak and Jirapol varied their York/Sussex/Southampton routine by playing instead "*satatee*" (The Sungod's Charrioteer) on the *pi nai* and "*cherd nawk*" on the *saw duang* respectively. The "*cherd chine*" came back after many days absence in a version that included lyrics sung by Charnchai and "*saen kamneung*" (*song chan* and *chandio*) gave all instrumentalists a short, exciting, moment in the limelight. The "*lao paen*" from Jirapol and short *khaen* demonstration by Manop led into the picture painting which caused Charnchai to be inundated with requests for mini-copies of "*sai yoke*" after the programme was over! Pradit, as at Southampton, brought proceedings to a halt with "*ah noo*" on the *ranad*.

There was time for an hour or so in the shopping centre at Horsham on the Friday morning and it proved to be a good opportunity to buy gifts to bring back to Thailand as prices were appreciably cheaper than they had been in London. Heavy rain (it always rains with tropical intensity whenever the Prasarnmit group get to Horsham) did not deter the shoppers but it made it more difficult to round them up again and get them back to the Art Centre in time to finish a special gala farewell lunch prepared by Mr Wilkinson and his volunteer lady chef, Benny, and the remainder of his team, in time to prepare for the final concert of the tour, one for children at 2 p.m. This was one of only two children's concerts on the tour and all items were selected for their brevity and brightness. An improbable *homrong* based on the traditional English melody "This Old Man" opened proceedings followed by a brief introduction to the instruments and, a great favourite in 1977, "*asawa leela*" (The Horse Dance) but played without the assistance of the energetic steeds of the earlier visit as one was engaged in London and the other was too full of the gala lunch to oblige. Prateep was allowed to whistle and squelch his way through Prince Naris' bird song, "*tap poradok*", before short pieces from upcountry were demonstrated as a preliminary to Charnchai's finger painting for which he chose a typical Thai upcountry scene of fields, trees, a thatched wooden house and a buffalo. Then pack and back to London to a farewell supper in Kensington followed by many hours of yet more packing of the instruments at the Students Hostel for an early morning departure on the Thai International flight for Bangkok.

The return was uneventful for all except the writer whose suitcase was left behind upon the London Airport bus; when the discovery was made the bus was halfway back to the bus station 50 miles away, there was no hope of the case catching the plane, but through valiant efforts on the part of Dr Mitchell's secretary it was recovered intact and sent winging to Bangkok a few days later.

The lessons learned on this second, and more serious workshop tour would seem to be that there is a tremendous and growing interest among Western music students, and their teachers, in learning more about unfamiliar music both by actual playing of the instruments and concerning the theory which is in many cases so entirely different to that understood in the West. The main criticism both at Aldeburgh and at all university-level workshops was shortage of time to properly get to grips with the subject. This criticism however brings the organizers up against two major problems, those of finance and time. Finance covers the cost of preparations for the journey as well as the actual cost of travel and board and lodging after arrival; time concerns the number of days that the teachers can actually afford to be away from their own jobs on campus. In this respect a three-week tour is about ideal as it can, give or take a few days, be fitted into the short university holiday period in the autumn. These three weeks have, however, to be divided up between serious upper-level workshops and school workshops as well as concerts for the public and other special engagements which enable the organizers to raise funds to support the possibly less financially viable but musicologically important workshops. The teachers themselves find the university-level student to be a more rewarding one and find highschool students difficult to control for any length of time. They also question how much a young teenager is likely to retain for any appreciable period after such a brief exposure. British teachers are known to not be in entire agreement with this assessment.

The organizers are of course fully aware of these problems and fully intend to shift the emphasis to university-level students as and when financial resources and experience make this possible. An ideal format already being discussed is to concentrate the next workshops at about four upper educational establishments insofar as possible now that the ice has been broken and some new fully exposed Western musicians are actually asking for more and no longer so much in need of being told what is good for them!

Dacre F. A. Raikes

January 1980, Bangkok

A NOTE ON FINANCING OF ACTIVITIES OF THE THAI CLASSICAL MUSIC GROUP

All earnings from appearances on radio, television and elsewhere are kept within the Group for the purpose of buying instruments, making repairs and replacements, and also to finance Group tours which are sometimes made to give lecture-demonstrations on classical music and dance in the more distant provinces of Thailand whenever opportunity offers. In addition to the provincial tours, in the past members of the Group have made appearances in Malaysia on three different occasions, the first of which was at Pesta Pinang in 1971. They performed there again in 1972 when they also joined in a radio programme prior to going to Kuala Lumpur to videotape a series of dances for Radio-TV Malaysia. In 1974 the Group were in Singapore recording another programme of both dance and music for Radio and TV Singapura. The year 1975 saw them back in Malaysia once again, where they gave two charity programmes in Ipoh under the patronage of HRH the Sultan of Perak and for the nearby army headquarters, prior to proceeding to Kuala Lumpur where the first of many exchange programmes was performed for the University of Malaya.

A couple of years ago the Group, handicapped by inadequate transport facilities, volunteered to pass on what looked like developing into an annual Malaysian/Singapore tour to their sister campus at Bangsaen on the east coast of Thailand, or to any other campus that could field an adequate team and was able to provide their own transport. In exchange for hospitality in Malaysia the various Srinakharin Wirot campuses assist with the organization of an annual tour around different parts of Thailand by the students and lecturers who comprise the cultural troupe of University Malaya. Meanwhile, in May 1979, 15 members of the present Prasarnmit Group made a tour of Java and Bali giving performances in Jakarta, Bandung, Surakarta and Denpasar under the joint sponsorship of the Dewan Kesenian Jakarta, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, local cultural groups and the Art and Culture Preservation Committee of the Siam Society.



Figure 1. 1979 Group photo — Standing, left to right: Mssrs. Manop Visootipat, Pradit Intanin, Jirapol Phetsom, Somsak Ketukaenchan, Prateep Lountratana-ari and Charnchai Intarasunanont; seated, left to right: Mr Dacre Raikes, Sir Peter Pears CBE, Miss Imogen Holst, Dr Donald Mitchell and Miss Rosamunde Strode.



Figure 2. Testing the equipment prior to a TV film recording at Aldeburgh are Jirapol, Pradit, Charnchai (who is also the artist), Manop and Somsak (who was studying at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama at the time).



Figure 3. Khun Jirapol gives tips on playing the *chakay* to a student from the Colchester Polytechnic Institute.



Figure 4. At a dinner party at "Curlews", the residence of Mrs Marion Thorpe near Aldeburgh, Sir Peter is introduced to Thai cuisine with a dinner cooked by the Prasarnmit musicians.

For the past four years the Group has received some financial support from the Siam Society's Art and Culture Preservation Committee which has, as one of its aims, the intention to promote the performance of interregional art in both plastic and dramatic forms. The Siam Society is happy to have been instrumental in canvassing sufficient support from generous well-wishers, in order to enable a few of the past and present members of the Thai Classical Music Group at Prasarnmit to make its prestige journey to the United Kingdom to conduct music workshops for the Britten-Pears School for Advanced Musical Studies under the auspices of the Aldeburgh Festival/Snape-Maltings Foundation. A considerable debt of gratitude is also owed to Dr Donald Mitchell, Visiting Professor of Music at Sussex University and Director of Academic Studies for the Britten-Pears School, who conceived the idea of the workshops and convinced his fellow Foundation directors to make a major contribution towards the expenses of bringing the Group to England and of maintaining them during the course of the tour.

The Siam Society acknowledge with grateful thanks the contributions toward the workshops received from the following generous and public-spirited sponsors:

Aldeburgh Festival/Snape-Maltings Foundation
Anglo-Thai (Bangkok) Ltd.
Mrs. Katharine Buri
The Education and Public Welfare Foundation
Glaxo (Thailand) Ltd.
ICI (Thailand) Limited
Louis T. Leonowens Ltd.
The Royal Bangkok Sports Club
The Royal Turf Club
The Shell Company of Thailand Limited
Thai Airways International Co., Ltd.
Thai Pure Drinks Ltd.

The Society is particularly grateful to the Education & Public Welfare Foundation, the Royal Bangkok Sports Club, the Royal Turf Club, the Shell Company of Thailand Limited, Thai Airways International Co., Ltd. and Thai Pure Drinks Ltd. for each subscribing the cost of one return airfare from Bangkok to London. Thai Airways International Co., Ltd. also made arrangements to cover the additional excess baggage costs of the heavy instruments and instructional materials for the workshop. Without the abovementioned aid and the very substantial monetary and organizational contributions made by the Aldeburgh Festival/Snape-Malting Foundation this visit could not have been undertaken.

THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE ANNUAL REPORT 1979/80

Library planning

From May to October 1979, the Library was under repair and had to be closed to the public. After the repairs the Library setting was slightly changed with more reading tables, a reference corner, and separate shelves for journals and periodicals. Bound periodicals are kept in the room in the back. One more room for rare books was added. Sixteen shelves were put in during the expansion.

Library collection

From the Library inventory, the present holdings amount to 8,730 volumes. The Library has obtained few new titles this year owing to budgetary limits.

(a) *Rare book collection.* Most of the old and out-of-print books are kept in the two rare book rooms. Books published before 1900 are kept in Prince Wan Room I. The ones published 1900-1936 are mostly kept in Prince Wan Room II. All books in the two rooms will be available only on request from the Librarian. Checking out for home use is not allowed.

(b) *Reserved book collection.* Expensive books and books considered difficult to replace will be put on reserve. They are shelved with the main collection in the reading room and are only for use within the Library.

(c) *General Books.* General books are shelved in numerical order in the main reading room.

Card catalogue and classification

The old catalogue cards for public use are not complete, which causes inconvenience to the users. Recataloguing and reclassification of the whole collection is now in process with the hope of a complete subject index becoming available soon.

The classification used is still the Dewey Decimal System. There are, however, some adaptations and expansion on some of the classes and subject headings considered necessary and suitable to the Siam Society Library, like books and materials on Thailand and her neighbouring countries, on Buddhism, on art and culture, etc. (A manual for Library use and guide to Dewey Decimal System is available on the card cabinet in the Library.)

Audio-visual project

(a) *Xeroxing service.* A charge for xerox machine use has been increased. Xeroxing service is now self-supporting. In some months the Library produces copies of rare books with this service.

Buddha, a collection of post-canonical tales compiled from various countries of mainland southeast Asia. Composed originally in Pali around the fifteenth century A.D. by monks of northern Thailand, these stories are a thematic source for many works of both classical and contemporary literature and theatre.

The 75th Anniversary Publication of the Siam Society. Currently in press, this volume portrays the various activities of the Society during its 75th year (1979/80) and the Society's home, in pictures with a brief text. An account of the fund-raising drive is provided, together with a list of donors. The text has been written by various Council members and edited by the Honorary Editor; technical work and layout are being contributed by Kongsak Chulamorkodt of Grafik International Co. Some of the photographs have been provided by a Society member, Mr M. Neil Carter.

Committee members:

Mr F.W.C. Martin
 Ms Sally Tun Thein
 Mr Geoffrey Bell
 Ms Beverly Frankel
 Mr Kim Atkinson

Chairman

Honorary Editor

THE EDITORIAL & PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE ANNUAL REPORT 1979/80

Publications activity has received a much-needed impetus this year with a Ford Foundation grant to establish a revolving fund, which will support printing costs on a continuing basis.

A number of volumes are in various stages of preparation or printing, as described below. Work has progressed at greater or lesser speed by individual volunteers according to the time and effort they could spare.

The Publications Committee, chaired by Francis Martin, has received a number of promising manuscripts which cannot be published by the Society because of lack of editorial manpower. The Committee very much needs the full-time services of an editor, besides the fine work already being accomplished by volunteer editors. To this end, a proposal for funding an editor, and adding to the revolving fund, has been submitted to private benefactors, and the Society hopes to enlarge its publications activity in future with further grant money.

Publications in progress

The History of Wat Phra Chetuphon and Its Buddha Images, by Kathleen I. Matics. Based on the author's doctoral dissertation on Wat Po, this study traces the history of the temple and its Buddha images which were brought to Bangkok from different parts of Thailand during the reign of King Rama I. The architecture, the art styles of the various images, and the significance of the major images and their history are also covered, as well as the cultural and educational role which the temple served during the early Ratanakosin period.

The World of Buddhism: a Pictorial Presentation, by John Blofeld. Containing over 100 photographs of temples, sculpture and the activities of Buddhist monks and laymen, this concise account of Buddhist practice covers the Theravada, Mahayana and Vajrayana teachings, and describes important Buddhist developments in Western countries over the last century. Conceived some years ago by Mr Blofeld, a distinguished author and Society member, this publication project has run into numerous difficulties.

The Ceramic Wares of Siam, by Charles Nelson Spinks (3rd ed.). The Siam Society is reissuing this classic introduction to ancient ceramics production in Sukhothai, Sawankhalok and other northern Thai kiln sites. Maps of the various areas, new illustrations of the ceramics forms and an updated bibliography are being included.

Sukhothai Bronze Hindu Images, by MC Subhadradis Diskul. Outstanding bronze Hindu images of Sukhothai period are illustrated, with an accompanying text. Professor Subhadradis has published much of this material in French, and has produced this new version in English for publication by the Society.

An Historical and Structural Study of The Pannasa Jataka, by Dorothy H. Fickle. This volume is the first English-language study of the Pannasa Jataka, the 'Fifty Birth Tales' of the

The Library has as its priority a plan to xerox rare and important books and materials for Library use with the hope to preserve original copies. It also has a plan to xerox multiple copies of publications mentioned above for sale.

(b) *Microfilming project.* With the help of John F. Kennedy Fund donation of 100,000 baht and a sum of 230,000 baht from the Society, the Library will this year own a microfilm photographic machine. The first series to be microfilmed is the *Bangkok Times*, Thailand's first daily English language newspaper of which the Society has the most complete holdings in the world. It is expected to be sold on a worldwide basis. With the machine, the Library also hopes to photograph other materials available in the Library and elsewhere for Library use. The microfilm collection will help ease the space problem in the future.

(c) *Tape-recording service.* The Library has started recording some of the Society lectures for Library use. The future aim is to record Thai musical programmes.

Library personnel

Mrs Sunee Grima, a well-trained librarian, joined the Library staff in January in Mrs Chamrieng Chomtavorn's former position. In February the Council approved the hiring of the second trained librarian, Mr Cherdskadi Komutphol, a graduate of Srinakharin Wirot University. With the two librarians, the Library is now optimistic of becoming a specialized research library.

During the past year, the Library is grateful to all Library Committee members as well as some of the Society members who have devoted their time in assisting in library work. *ML Manich Jumsai* has been very helpful in working out a proper way of repairing old publications. He is also very keen on microfilming services. Through his and Mr Francis Martin's contacts, the Library is able to buy the microfilm machine from Kodak Company at a special discount. Mrs Micaela du Guerny, a specialist in publication preservation from France, worked hard during her last home leave in contacting various libraries in Germany, France, Austria and England and inquired about modern procedures of repairing and preserving old and worn-out publications. Her detailed and thorough report is very educational and a great help to the library. Mrs Bonnie Davis has devoted lots of her time in helping with the library work—keeping the record holdings of the foreign journals and periodicals, helping with the foreign correspondence, checking and indexing the *Bangkok Times* to make it ready for microfilming. Her regular two-days-a-week work is most appreciated. Mrs Yuria Suyama and two of her Japanese lady friends were a great help during the past summer in sorting and checking all the library catalogue cards. Mrs Mareile Onodera's kind assistance and contacts brings donations and gifts to the Library from the Japanese circle.

Donations and gifts

1. John F. Kennedy Fund has donated 100,000 baht for books on music.
2. Yoshida International Education Foundation has presented as gifts at least 40 titles of books in and about Japan, in English.

3. The Japan Foundation of Thailand presented 150 titles of books in and about Japan in English to the Library.

4. The British Institute in South East Asia has donated four books to the Library.

5. John F. Kennedy Fund has donated a sum of 100,000 baht for the microfilm photographic machine purchase.

Committee members:

Ms Chitra Pranich

ML Manich Jumsai

Ms Bonnie Davis

Ms Yuria Suyama

Chairman

**THE NATURAL HISTORY SECTION ANNUAL REPORT
1979/80**

There is very little to report in the form of activities for this Section of the Society. We managed only one hike to Tham Thanlod National Park, led by Dr Tem Smitinand, which was well attended. The members who participated enjoyed the good food, comfortable accommodation and hill-tribe dance display in moonlight to the accompaniment of drums. It is regretted that most wildlife had already been poached and only a few birds and butterflies were seen.

Nevertheless this Section has kept up its correspondence with societies outside Thailand. Invitations to participate in conferences were turned down as qualified members just did not have the time to attend.

Letters of protest on the cruel methods of transportation of wildlife were also sent to the airlines concerned, and they promised that it would not happen again!

A Siam Society staff and a Council member have now become members of the Wildlife & Nature Protection Society of Sri Lanka, which entitles them to use together with their guests the Society bungalows at Wilpattu, Yala and Rahuyalla. We hope to be able to take our members to their wildlife reserves.

A trip to China permitted interested members to spend whole days at zoos in the different cities that we visited. Apart from watching the behaviour of the Pandas (13) there was also the Lesser Panda and the very rare Golden Monkey (*Rhinopithecus roxellanae*) not to mention other Chinese wildlife not usually seen outside China.

Committee members:

Dr Tem Smitinand	Chairman
Mr Philip A. Reeves	
Ms Katherine B. Buri	
Dr Warren Y. Brockelman	
HE Mr Frantz B. Howitz	
Dr Rachit Buri	

**THE PROGRAMME & TRAVEL COMMITTEE ANNUAL REPORT
1979/80**

This past year the Programme and Travel Committee successfully managed to take members and friends of the Society to the People's Republic of China, after having tried to arrange this already for some time. Trips to other places, both within the country and abroad, too, were fairly frequent. Our lecture programme again came to life. We even offered some talks in Thai. We have also had a poetry reading, slide shows, film shows, puppet shows and various cultural performances. Many newcomers, particularly younger Thai and Japanese, have turned up to attend some of these events.

We hope that with the new air-conditioned hall, our audiences will be even bigger.

Schedule of events during 1979/80.

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| <i>6-8 April</i> | Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay, Administrative Secretary, led an excursion to Phi Phi Island and other islands in the Phuket and Phang-nga bays. |
| <i>11 April</i> | Dr Janice Stargardt, Director of the Cambridge Project on South East Asian Civilisations and their Environments, lectured on "Satingpra—a test case for techniques in environmental archaeology in tropical Asia". |
| <i>28 April</i> | Dance and music from Chiang Mai, introduced by Mr Dacre Raikes, Member of Council. |
| <i>29 April</i> | A visit to the palace of the late Prince Naris was led by <i>MR D. Jhum-bala</i> . |
| <i>7 May</i> | The Ploughing Ceremony, led by Mr Insee Chandrastitya, Member of Council. |
| <i>11-14 May</i> | Mr Henri Pagau-Clarac, Member of Council, led an excursion to Ubon Ratchatani and Yasothon Provinces. |
| <i>13 May</i> | HSH Prince Subhadradis Diskul, President of the Society, led an excursion to the Grand Palace and the Temple of the Emerald Buddha. |
| <i>15 May</i> | Mr Sulak Sivaraksa, Member of Council, lectured on "the life and work of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (1862-1943) as an historical testimony of indigenous Thai intellectual creativity". |
| <i>26 May</i> | <i>ML Manich Jumsai</i> , Member of Council, led an excursion to Ayutthaya. |
| <i>29 May</i> | A <i>nang yai</i> performance and punch party was held, introduced by Mr Dacre Raikes. |

- 2-3 June* Mr Henri Pagau-Clarac led an excursion to Chanthaburi.
- 21 June* Mr Chaiyant Watanaputi of the Faculty of Education, Chiang Mai University, lectured on the political culture of a northern Thai village.
- 23-24 June* Dr Tem Smitinand, Vice-President of the Society, led a hike in the forests of Kanchanaburi Province.
- 3 July* Dr Kusuma Sakamani, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Arts, Silpakorn University, lectured on "The Thai version of the Panjatantra".
- 6-11 July* Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay led an excursion to southern Thailand.
- 17 July* A film was shown: "Tong Pan", based on the real-life experiences of a farmer from the northeast of Thailand.
- 24 July* Prof Watana Watanaputi of the Faculty of Education, Chiang Mai University, lectured on "Lanna folk art: change and persistence".
- 29 July* Mr Henri Pagau-Clarac led an excursion to Lop Buri Province.
- 7 August* Dr Chulacheep Chiawanno, faculty member at Mahidol University, lectured on "China and the Association of South East Asian Nations".
- 14 August* Dr Richard O'Conner, Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of the South at Sewanee, lectured on "Thai urbanism: Western and Thai ideas of a city".
- 26 August* Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay led an excursion to see temples and mural paintings at seldom-visited temples in Thon Buri.
- 28 August* Dr Craig J. Reynolds, History Department, University of Sydney, lectured on "The life of the Prince Patriarch Vajiranana, 1680-1721".
- 2 September* Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay led an afternoon up-river excursion and dinner party with a folk opera.
- 11 September* Dr Somboon Suksamran of the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, lectured on "Buddhism and social change in modern Thailand".
- 15-16 September* Mr Euayporn Kerchouay led an excursion to Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi, with an overnight stay at Hua Hin.
- 24 September —
1 October* Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay led an excursion to Burma.
- 15 September* Prof Franklin E. Huffman of the Department of Linguistics, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, lectured on "A linguistic affiliation in Southeast Asia with emphasis on Mon-Khmer".

- 26 September —
3 October Mr Henri Pagau-Clarac led an excursion to Burma.
- 6-7 October HSH Prince Subhadradis Diskul led members on a *thod kathin* at Wat Thamsopit at Uthai Thani, and a visit to places of interest in Chai Nat and Nakhon Sawan.
- 7-27 October Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay led an excursion to China.
- 1 November Mr Sulak Sivaraksa, Member of the Council, introduced three films on the Royal Cremation Ceremonies of the late Prince Dhani, the Ven. Phra Dhammacitiya and Phya Anuman Rajadhon.
- 20 November A Thai poetry reading was held, with Mr Michael Wright, Member of the Society, introducing three Thai poets: Mssrs Angkhan Kalyanaphong, Navarat Phongphaiboon and Withayakorn Chiengkool.
- 14-17 December HSH Prince Subhadradis Diskul led an excursion to Phitsanulok, Sukhothai, Kamphaeng Phet, Bhumiphol Dam, Si Satchanalai and Uttaradit.
- 23 December A performance of Japanese puppets was held by the Ohanashi Caravan Center troupe, and introduced by Mr Dhepsiri Suksopa and Mrs M. Onodera.
- 26 December —
2 January An excursion to Sri Lanka was led by Dr Piriya Krairiksh, Member of the Council.
- 12-13 January An excursion to Phnom Wan, Phimai, Phnom Rung, Muang Tham and the Bodhisattva Cave was led by HSH Prince Subhadradis Diskul.
- 20 January A visit was made to Wat Phai Lom and Bang Pa-in Palace, led by Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay.
- 24 January Dr Leo Alting von Geusau of Long Island University, Greenvale, New York, lectured on "Cosmos, rite and life in Akha society", with slides.
- 26 January A Japanese cultural performance was held by Intercultural Association for Art.
- 29 January Music and dance of northeast Thailand were performed, and introduced by Dr Chatri of Srinakharin Wirot University, Maha Sarakham.
- 31 January —
4 February A Chiang Mai - Chiang Rai river adventure, visit to hill-tribe villages and a tour of northern Thailand was led by Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay.
- 12 February Mr Roger Rumpf and Miss J. Changnon, Indochina Representatives of American Friends Service Committee, based in Vientiane, gave a

lecture and slides show on "An American perspective of cultural life in Laos today".

- 16 February* A visit to Wat Bowornnivesvihara, Wat Rajativas and Wat Arun Rajavoraram was led by Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay.
- 19 February* HH Prince Prem Purachatra, past President of the Siam Society, lectured on and read from King Vajiravudh's works.
- 22 February* The Ven. Phra Rajavaramuni of Wat Phrapirandr, former Deputy Secretary General of Maha Chulalongkorn Buddhist University, lectured in Thai on Buddhists and social destiny.
- 23-24 February* Weekend camping at Sai Yoke waterfall, a visit to the cave and a tour of archaeological sites in Kanchanaburi Province was led by Mr Euayporn Kerdchouay.
- 7-10 March* The excursion to Chaiya, Surat Thani and Nakhon Si Thammarat was led by HSH Prince Subhadradis Diskul.
- 27 March* The Annual General Meeting was held, followed by a film show on a school in Klong Toey slum with an introduction by Miss Prateep Ungsongtham, Community School, Klong Toey, Bangkok.

**Minutes* of the Annual General Meeting of the
Siam Society, Under Royal Patronage
131 Soi Asoke, Sukhumvit Road, Bangkok
Thursday, 27 March 1980**

The Annual General Meeting terminating the Council year 1979/80 was held on Thursday, 27 March 1980 at the Society's Home, and commenced at 8.15 p.m. The Meeting was attended by 55 members. The following members of the outgoing Council were present.

HSH Prince Subhadradis Diskul
MR Patanachai Jayant
Dr Tem Smitinand
Ms Nisa Sheanakul
Mr Kim Atkinson
Mr Henri Pagau-Clarac
Ms Katherine Buri
Mr Francis W.C. Martin
Ms Mareile Onodera
Dr Tej Bunnag

1. **The Adoption of the Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting, held on Thursday, 29 March 1979.** Since there were no comments, the Minutes were adopted as presented.
2. **Presentation of the Annual Report for the Council Year 1979.** Ms Nisa Sheanakul, the Honorary Secretary, presented an additional report from the Administration Committee on the rental of the Society's premises during the past Council Year, as follows.
 - 5 August -- The hall and grounds were rented by the former "Free Thai" for a dinner party.
 - 21 August -- The hall and grounds were rented by the American Chamber of Commerce in Thailand for a cocktail party.
 - 17 November -- The hall was rented by the Morakot group for a performance of Thai classical music.
 - 30 November to 15 December -- The hall was used by the First National Arts Exhibition Committee for an art exhibition.
 - 21 January -- The hall and grounds were rented by Turismo Thai Co., Ltd. for a dinner party and performance of music and dance.
 - 26 March -- The Duang Prateep Foundation held their annual general meeting in the Hall. Presiding over the occasion was Gen. Kriangsak Chomnan, former

* N.B. The following Minutes will be presented for consideration and adoption by the Annual General Meeting in March 1981.

Prime Minister of Thailand and President of the Foundation. He was shown around the Library and the Kam Thieng House, and presented with publications of the Society by the Honorary Secretary on behalf of the Council.

Ms Nisa reminded the meeting that the Hall and grounds of the Siam Society were available for renting. The new air-conditioning system would provide increased comfort, but would necessitate raising of the rental fees. Details on renting could be obtained from the Administrative Secretary.

There being no other comments, the Annual Report was adopted.

3. **Presentation of the Financial Statement for 1979.** *MR* Patanachai Jayant, the Honorary Treasurer, presented the Financial Statement for 1979, which was duly adopted.

4. **Election of the Honorary Auditor for 1980.** The outgoing Council proposed the re-election of Mr Yukta na Thalang as Honorary Auditor. Mr Yukta na Thalang was re-elected.

5. **Election of Council for 1979/80.**

- (a) HSH Prince Subhadradis was reelected *President*.
- (b) *MR* Patanachai Jayant, Dr Tem Smitinand and Mr Vivadh na Pombejra were reelected *Vice-Presidents*.
- (c) Ms Nongyao Narumit was elected *Honorary Secretary*.
- (d) *MR* Patanachai Jayant was reelected *Honorary Treasurer*.
- (e) Ms Chittra Pranich was reelected *Honorary Librarian*.
- (f) Mr Kim Atkinson was reelected *Honorary Editor*.
- (g) The office of *Leader of the Natural History Section* was filled ex-officio by Dr Tem Smitinand.
- (h) The following were reelected *Ordinary Members of Council*:

<i>Mom</i> Kobkaew Abhakara	Mr Henri Pagau-Clarac
Ms Katherine Buri	Dr Piriya Krairiksh
Mr Francis W.C. Martin	Mr Dacre F.A. Raikes
Ms Mareile Onodera	Mr Sulak Sivaraksa
- (i) The following were elected *Ordinary Members of Council*:

Mr Christopher J.A. Chubb	Dr Sarasin Viraphol
Mr Ei-ichi Hamanishi	Dr Sawaeng Rathanamongkolmas
Ms Sonia Krug	Dr Tej Bunnag
Dr Prasarn Buri	

HSH Prince Subhadradis Diskul, the newly reelected President, warmly thanked members of the outgoing Council who were leaving Thailand or who for other reasons had not stood for reelection. These were Ms Nisa Sheanakul, Ms Josephine Stanton, Ms Beverly Frankel, HE Mr Frantz B. Howitz, Prof Insee Chandrastitya, Mr Kenneth MacCormac, *ML* Manich Jumsai and Mr Antoine van Agtmael. The President hoped that they would continue to give support to and show interest in the activities of the Siam Society.

6. **Any Other Business.** Society member Mr John Stirling raised the matter of the disappearance of certain volumes from the Library, and wished to call the Council's attention to the difficulty in finding books in the Library. Society member Mr Charles Stewart echoed this observation, remarking that it was indeed difficult to locate books in the Library. Mr Stewart in addition wondered whether the photocopies of rare books presently kept in the rare book collection could not be recopied so as to become accessible to borrowers.

In reply to Mr Stirling, Dr Tej Bunnag conveyed a message from the Honorary Librarian to the effect that the Library's holdings were classified according to the Dewey decimal system, but some volumes had been reclassified or otherwise shifted during the recent renovation of the Library building, and cataloguing in some instances was not up to date. The newly engaged librarian was expected to be able to sort out confusion where it existed, and would improve the cross-indexing files.

Ms Nisa congratulated the newly elected Council, and reminded them that its first meeting would be held on the following day at the Society's Home, at 5.00 p.m.

Ms Nisa also recalled for the Meeting item 18 of the rules of the Siam Society, which instructs the Council, *inter alia*, "to present to the Annual General Meeting, at the expiration of their term of office, a Report on the proceedings and condition of the Society, and a provisional programme for the ensuing year". Ms Nisa said that in the past the Council had only managed to present the Annual Report at the Meeting but not the provisional programme for the subsequent year. She would like to request the newly elected Council to consider preparing one and announce it to members through the circular sometime in June, if possible, so that members would have some idea about the Society's plans and activities for the coming Council year. It was also hoped that this practice would be followed by the Council in future.

Ms Nisa added that the new Council should also seriously consider "inviting Members of the Royal Family and other distinguished personages to accept Honorary offices", as instructed in item 18(b) of the Society's Rules.

The President adjourned the meeting at 8.45 p.m.



After the formal business of the Annual General Meeting, Ms Prateep Ungsongtham presented a film show on her famous school for children of the Klong Toey slum area. Ms Prateep had won the Magsaysay Award for Social Service in 1978, in recognition of her innovative work in providing education for slum children who were outside the national system.

PAID-UP MEMBERS, 1979/80

*DENOTES LIFE MEMBER

- *Mr Hisashi Abe
- **Mom* Kobkaew Abhakara na Ayudhya
 - Mr David P. Abotomey
 - Mrs Morton I. Abramowitz
- *Prof Arthur S. Abramson
- *Mr A.C.S. Adams
- Prof David B.J. Adams
- Mr Douglas Adkins
- *Mrs V.T. Adloff
- Mrs D. Adulbhan
- *Mr Osamu Akagi
 - Luang Pracherd Aksorlaksana
- *Mr A. Alexander
- *Mr P.J. Alexander
- *Dr E. Ammundsen
- *Mr Pinglasvasti Amranand
- *Mr Piyasvasti Amranand
- *Mr Vidusvasti Amranand
- Mr Diethard Ande
- *Dr Douglas D. Anderson
- Mr Hans G. Anderson
- *Mr Hirushi Ando
- *HE Mr G. André
- Mr David I. Andrianoff
- *Miss Mary Anglemyer
- Miss Bonncua Ankapradit
- *Prof Edward M. Anthony
- Mr William Aoustin
- *Mr Yoji Aoyagi
- *Mr Hachiro Arai
- Mr C. Archaimbault
- Mr Alain Archaimbault
- Mr Thompson Armitage
- Dr Woraphat Arthayukti
- *Mr Charles D. Arthur
- Mr Gosa Arya
- Mr James P. Ashby
- Mr William P. Ashdown
- Mr Lawrence F. Ashmun
- *Mr Yehuda Assia
- Mr Siva Asva Asvakiat
- *Mr Kim Atkinson
- *Mr Bunchana Atthakorn
- *Mr B. Atthakorn
- Mrs Kannikar Avudh Indravijit
- Mrs Betty M. Avery
- *Mr Tsuneo Ayabe
- Mr Kenneth R. Ayer
- Mr Liam Ayudhrij
- Mr Ebrahim A. Azeez
- Miss Kathleen Badger
- Mr Jean Baffie
- Mr Robert H. Baker
- *Mr Michael H. Baker
- *Dr R. Balakrishna
- Mrs Malini Balasingam
- *Mr Daroon Balasiri
- Mr John M. Ball
- *Mr Dieter-Maria Balzar
- *Miss Banchop Bandhumedha
- *Mr Dharmadasa Banij
- Mr Dusit Banijbatana
- Mr Pierre Banizette
- *Prof P.V. Bapat
- *Dr G. Bare
- Mr George Barbato
- Mr J.N.A. Barnes
- Mrs T.L. Barratt
- Mr D. Barrett
- Mr Paul Barstow
- *Mr Norman Bartlett
- Mr James R. Basche, Jr

- *Mr Douglas N. Batson
- Mrs Kate Battye
- Mr Erwin Baumann
- Miss Louise Baumgarten
- Mr Vance M. Baumgartner
- Dr Donn T. Bayard
- Miss Helene Beaupere
- Dr R.A. Beaver
- Prof Dr Heinz Bechert
- *Mr Peter J. Bee
- *Dr Damrong Bejrablava
- Mr Konrad Bekker
- Mr Geoffrey Bell
- Mr F.J. Bell
- Mrs Suzanne Bellevue
- Mr Kittisak Bencharit
- Miss Nancy K. Bender
- *Mr Paul J. Bennett
- Capt Andrew Bergesen
- Mr Giorgio Berlingieri
- Mrs Marie M. Berlingieri
- Mr Mel T. Bernard
- Mr J.N.A. Bernes
- Mr Richard Berry
- *Miss Chamrieng Bhavichitra
- Mr Prapasask Bhucksasri
- Mr Chiraphong Bhumichitr
- *Mr Robert J. Bickner
- Mr Robert Bichet
- Dr George A. Binnew
- Dr Ernst W. Birmele
- Mr Kurt Bischof
- Mr Paul Bixler
- Mr François Bizot
- *Mr Otto Bjorling
- Mr Lucien Blacher
- *Mr J. Black
- Mr Rodney G. Black
- Mrs Beryl Blacka
- Mrs Myrna Blake
- Mr John Bluford
- Mr David J. Bluford
- Mr Enno Bode
- *Mr J.J. Boeles
- Prof Dr Ernest Boesch
- Mr Marc Bogerd
- *Prof Jean Boisselier
- Mr Richard N. Bones
- Mr Simon Bonython
- Mrs Kultida Boon-Itt
- *Mr Thanongsak Boonyarungsrit
- Mrs Raem P. Boonyaprasop
- Mr William Booth
- Mr Giorgio Borella
- Mr Alexander H. Borthwick
- Mrs Marcelle Boschan
- Mrs Annie Boss
- Dr Walter Boss
- Mr Robert G. Boughey
- Mr K.W. Boughton
- *Mr Carroll G. Bowen
- Mr Richard C. Boylan, Jr
- Mr Douglas Bradbury
- Dr William L. Bradley
- *Mr Heinz Braendli
- Dr Nigel J. Brailey
- *Mr Kennon Breazeale
- Mr Rainer Breitfeld
- Dr R.P. Brenner
- Miss Marcia R. Brewster
- Dr Colin M. Britton
- Mr Warren Brockelman
- Mr Jean C. Brodbeck
- *Mr Jere Broh-Kohn
- *Dr John F. Brohm
- Miss Emma R. Broisman
- Mr Barry Broman
- Mr Bennet Bronson
- Mr E. de Renzie Brown
- Mr R.L. Brown
- Mr Viggo Brun
- Mr Michel Bruneau
- *Mr Chitr Buabusaya
- Maj-Gen Prasert Buabusaya
- Prof Saroj Buasri
- Mrs Janine Buhrman

- *Mrs L.C. Edna Bulkley
 *Mr Danuj Bunnag
 Mr Marut Bunnag
 *Dr Tej Bunnag
 Miss Bhatarudi Bunyaketu
 Miss Buranee Buranasiri
 *Mr Nunt Buranasiri
 Miss Vilaileka Buranasiri
 *Mrs Katherine Buri
 *Miss Prapar N. Buri
 *Mrs Prapai S. Buri
 *Mr Prasarn Bhiraj Buri
 *Mr Prasit Buri
 Dr Rachit Buri
 Mr Herbert O. Burri
 *Mr William S. Burtenshaw
 Mr John J.S. Burton
 Mr Robert A. Cahn
 Mr John Cairncross
 *Mr C.W. Callaway, Jr
 Mrs Françoise Calvet
 Lt-Col Donald J. Cann
 Mr Peter E. Carl
 Mr Gary W. Carlson
 *Mr Timothy Carney
 *Mr G.D. Carpenter
 Mr Neil Carter
 *Mrs Carroll L. Cartwright
 Mr Robert B. Cary
 Mr Philippe Cavard
 *HRH Prince Chalermbol
 Mrs Kannikar Chalitaporn
 Mr James R. Chamberlain
 Miss Chusiri Chamaraman
 Mr Chalaw Chamoraman
 Mrs Peggy Champin
 *Mr Abhai Chandavimol
 Miss Churairat Chandhamrong
 Mr Albert T. Chandler
 Mr David P. Chandler
 Mr Glen Chandler
 Mr Insee Chandrastitya
 *MC Sasavin Chandratat
 Mrs Wanpen Chandr-Virochana
 Mr Wiwat Chandvirot
 Mr Y.H. Chang
 *Mr Damrong Changtrakul
 Miss Payom Chaniharatiyakarn
 *Mr Manop Charoensuk
 Miss Srisuwan Charoenthongtrakul
 Mr Robert L. Chatten
 *Prof S.K. Chatterji
 *Mr Chamras Chayabongse
 *Miss Seela Chayanियayodhin
 Mr J.M. Chiappe
 Mr Chatri Chiarapurk
 *Mr C.F. Chicarelli, Jr
 Miss Ganigar Chinachote
 ML Pattaratorn Chirapravati
 Mr Hatai Chitanondh
 Dr Preeda Chitarachinda
 Miss Bancha Chittibhol
 Miss Komkai Chocktrakulchai
 Miss Lalivan Cholvijarn
 Mrs Françoise Chomthongdi
 *Miss U. Chongpipatanasook
 *Mr Chow Chowkwanyun
 Mrs Evelyn Chowkwanyun
 Mr Bangkok Chowkwanyun
 Dr John J. Christian
 Mr Tom Chuawiwat
 Mr Christopher J.A. Chubb
 Miss Sakorn Chueiprasit
 Mr Somchart Chungsiriarak
 *Mrs Saisuree Chutikul
 Miss Krongthong Chutima
 Mr C.A. Clarac
 Mrs Patricia A. Clinton
 Mr W.F.L. Coleshill
 Miss Daphne Colwell
 Mr Leon Comber
 *Prof Georges Condominas
 Mrs Herida M. Cook
 *Mr Robert N. Cook, Jr
 Miss Mary N. Cooke
 Mrs Helen Coombes

- Mr Edward J. Cooper, Jr
 Mr Georges Corcodel
 Mr Richard L. Corbin
 Miss Margaret E. Corkery
 *Mr J. Corman
 Mr Michael J. Cornish
 Dr Conrad P. Cotter
 Mr Hugo J. Cotter
 Mrs Anne Cottet-Dumoulin
 Miss Colette Couturier
 Mr John B. Cox
 Maj Alexander W. Craig
 Mrs P.L. Creasy
 Miss Margaret Crowley
 Mr Richmond Cubis
 *Mr J.L. Culbertson
 *Mr William H. Cummings
 Mr J.A. Cunningham
 Mr Joseph S. Curtin, Jr
 *Dr Richard D. Cushman
 *Mr Lance Dane
 Mr Hans F.M. Daniels
 *Mr Chitra Dansuputra
 Mrs Anne-Marie Dauphin
 Mr Harold Davie
 *Mr Richard B. Davis
 Mr James E. Davis
 Mr Philip Davis
 Mr Jacques Debeuscher
 Mrs J. De Fels
 Mr A.I. De Courcy Lyons
 Mr Kiattiphol Decha-umpahi
 Mrs Eileen Deeley
 Mr E.S. De Jong
 *Miss Sukanya Dej-Udom
 Miss Balint B. Denes
 Dr Eugene Denis
 *Mr Ulrich Dennerlein
 *Mr J.J. Derksen
 Miss Vijata B. De Silva
 MR Anongdevan Devakul
 Dr J.L. De Vries
 *Ir F.C. de Weger
 *Miss Chalernsri Dhamabutra
 *Mr Phadhadej Dhamcharee
 *HE Mr Sanya Dharmasakti
 *Mr Edward Dickinson
 *Mr W. Dickinson
 Mr J.V. Di Crocco
 *HSH Princess Marayat Diskul
 *HSH Prince Subhadradis Diskul
 Dr Edward B. Doberstyn
 Mr Michael T. Dockerty
 *Mr John Dodds
 *Rev Paul S. Dodge
 Mrs Velvet E. Douglas
 Rev Ray Downs
 *Mr Svend H. Drachmann
 Mr Jacques Dubois
 Mr Ernest Duchamp
 Mr Jacques Du Guerny
 Mr Alfred F. Eberhardt
 Mrs D.W. Edwards
 Prof Søren Egerod
 Mr Paul D. Ehret
 *Mrs I. Eisenhofer
 Mrs Maly Ekaritbutr
 *Mrs Kamala Sukhabanly Eksaengsri
 Mr G.C. Emerson
 Miss Ruth M. Erlandson
 *The Viscount Errington
 Mrs Ghislaine Esguerra
 Dr Hermann Essl
 *Dr Egon A. Ettinger
 Mr Warren Evans
 Mr John L. Everingham
 Prof H.D. Evers
 Mrs Florence E. Fader
 Mr David Feeny
 *Prof David A. Feingold
 Mr Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel
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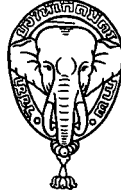
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